The Nation.

March 12, 1990 $1.75 U.S./$2.25 Canada

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
East Orange, N.J. 07019

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY
East Orange, N.J. 07019

FEB 26

March 12, 1990

EDITORIAL

THE NEWEST SUPERPOWER

It's true that there is no stopping German unification, nor should there be. Germans, no less than Lithuanians, South Africans, Palestinians or Québécois, have a right to political and social self-determination that is based on international law and equity. But an increasingly interdependent, and vulnerable, world community has the responsibility to see that the process of self-determination is as free and fair as possible, and that the consequences do not imperil the peace.

Those duties are political in nature, and usually highly ambiguous. One person's "free and fair" formula is another's stacked deck, and peace is always conditional. In the case of the two Germanys, self-determination is likely to lead to the creation of a bona fide superpower with the ability, and maybe the will, to throw its weight around in a way that deprives others of fully autonomous self-rule.

That is what superpowers do, whether they are American, Soviet or, in the old days, British, French or Dutch. It's bigoted to believe that the Germans, because of some *völkisch* character quirk, are more prone to the abuse of super power than anyone else. History holds too many nightmares all around. But it is only realistic, and now imperative, for those who still have some say in the matter to devise democratic structures that may keep new superpowers in check. Imagine how much better the world would be if the United States had been more bridled in its arrogant exploitation of power for the past forty-five years.

President Gorbachev has the right idea with his plan for an all-European effort to contain the Continent's nascent titan. Such a project must entail the transformation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact into a new community that will protect boundaries, safeguard minorities and vanquish fears of any bully on the block.

PAST TENSE
Erwin Knoll

TRUMPISMO
Alexander Cockburn

LEGAL LYNCHING IN LOUISIANA
Adam Nossiter

BRAZILIAN MILITARY AND THE AMAZON
Linda Rabben

TURF WARS AT THE FUND FOR PEACE
David Corn

REVISING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
Benjamin R. Barber

SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE

NEGOTIATING A NONRACIAL DEMOCRACY

As the struggle for South African freedom moved to a new stage, The Nation *asked two prominent black South Africans to comment on the prospects for a negotiated settlement. Both Fatima Meer and Joe Thloloe have been writing and fighting for decades, and although both have paid a price for their commitments—detention, assassination attempts, bannings—both have continued to contribute to the battle against apartheid as activists and as commentators.*

—The Editors

FATIMA MEER

"It took my breath away," was Archbishop Desmond Tutu's spontaneous response to the Nationalist government's unbanning of the African National Congress and other organizations, and he danced for joy when Nelson Mandela was released. In this he shared the response of the generality of black South Africans.

Negotiations are in the interests of both blacks and whites, and there is relief all around that enlightened Afrikaners have realized this in the nick of time. Apartheid has run the country to disaster, almost to a point of no return. The prognosis is bleak. A dwindling, almost disappearing race, constituting 14 percent of the population today and doomed to be reduced to half that proportion in the coming century, the whites have neither the numbers, the political stamina nor the economic capacity to generate the income necessary to keep the hungry black masses at bay. Indeed, as F.W. de Klerk states, a future without power sharing is a future of escalating violence.

(Continued on Page 346)

08585 11
0 377535 6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT

Alderson, W.Va.

"At the Bottom of the Well" [Jan. 8/15], Andy Yale's article on the essential element water and our need to preserve its purity, brought us wonderful letters of encouragement from all over the U.S.A.—*all* with checks to help pay our expected $30,000 in legal fees. . . .

Our struggle continues, as our steadfast effort to hang in there, for we know what awaits us if we lose. To quote my neighbor, "We gonna hang on like a bluetick dog on a wet coon." *Mark Blumenstein*

Concerned Citizens of Alderson/Glenray

NOTHIN' LEFT TO LOSE

Kansas City, Kan.

As a striking Eastern Airlines mechanic who worked at the Miami overhaul base for nine years prior to the strike against Frank Lorenzo, I'd like to express my heartfelt appreciation to *The Nation* for its January 1 editorial "A Will to Lose."

Right from the beginning the rank-and-file machinists, flight attendants and pilots anxiously awaited some kind of aggressive action from the union leadership, especially from the higher-ups of the International Association of Machinists and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. For ten months we were sadly disappointed and frustrated while the strike fizzled out. As the bankruptcy court and President Bush assisted Lorenzo in the dismantling of Eastern, the union leadership pinned its hopes on a slick Chicago options peddler named Joe Ritchie who never did come up with the requisite cash demanded by the bankruptcy court examiner to make a bid on the airline. The unions lied to us (and maybe to themselves) in telling us he had. Many of us consider Ritchie nothing more than Frank Lorenzo with a human face.

The rank and file were absolutely willing at any time to follow the union leadership in whatever direction they chose to take us. We all felt that organized labor had arrived at a critical turning point and that the crisis caused to the American worker by the Reagan years had gone far enough. We were excited with the idea that *our* strike would be the crucial one that would bring honor and justice back to working people across the country. We were ready, but on the eve of battle our leaders got cold feet.

A passive strike was the perfect vehicle for Lorenzo to accomplish what he'd wanted to do from the time he took over at Eastern in 1986: the abrogation of our contracts and the controlled liquidation of our airline, and with it our livelihoods; and to some their very lives. *Howard J. Silver*

SOLIDARITY PARITY?

New York City

Daniel Singer's meanspirited attack on Lech Walesa (Singer writes that Walesa, rather than helping workers "defend themselves against exploitation," "is ready to sell that birthright . . . for more than a fistful of dollars") is truly obscene ["After the Wall, a New Socialism?" Dec. 25, 1989]. The fact is that Walesa has not sold out the Polish people and Polish workers. As Walesa told the A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention, "I would not like anybody to think that I made an about-face. Nowadays in Poland the defense of workers is not based on demanding more money, which in our country has no real value and for which one cannot buy anything. At present defending workers means building a normally functioning economy that would allow increasing production and letting people earn more money. Such an economy can only be built together with the trade unions; it cannot be built against them. . . . That is why Solidarity is still indispensable for Poland." And while in this country, Walesa taped TV commercials in favor of labor solidarity and organizing efforts in the United States.

Singer misses the point that Walesa and the Polish people do not have to be told by Singer about the supposed merits of "really existing socialism." Writing from the vista of his expensive dwelling in Paris, Singer dares to speak in the name of the Central European peoples, who are expected, despite their own experience of "socialism," to continue to carry the torch in order to rescue the dreams of Singer's youth. This attitude, of course, is classic Leninism redux, in which the Marxist intellectual imposes his own utopia on the people, who have to learn their role in history from the vanguard's representative. Walesa, speaking for those who have come to understand the necessity of a mixed market economy, represents the future; Singer, speaking in the name of "the left," dons the stance of the classic reactionary, urging a move backward to an unthinkable past. *Ronald Radosh*

SINGER REPLIES

Paris

Ronald Radosh visited my "expensive dwelling in Paris" years ago when he brought me his book in which, among other things, he described how [the anti-Communist union] *Force Ouvrière* was set up after the war with American money. Those were his "radical" days, when he co-wrote, with Louis Menashe, a book called *Teach-Ins U.S.A.* The villain in that story was the American Federation of Labor, great champion of the cold war. He has since changed his views about that labor union and about capitalism—sorry, I should have said "mixed market economy." His conversion is his own affair as are his problems with his family background or with his mirror. But for someone even vaguely acquainted with my writing to suggest that I was preaching to the people of Eastern Europe "the supposed merits of 'really existing socialism'" is to reveal his intellectual nothingness. I am glad that the rest of his argument is on the same mental level because, while I love heretics, I despise renegades, and it would have been very unpleasant to have to debate with such a contemptible turncoat. *Daniel Singer*

ON OUR CASE

Omaha

In your December 18 tribute to the late Leonard Boudin, you state, "He argued more civil liberties cases before the Supreme Court than any other constitutional attorney." Do you have an actual count?

The A.C.L.U.'s Osmond Fraenkel made twenty-six oral arguments in twenty-three separate cases (the three extra were due to re-arguments). His name appeared on the briefs in 103 cases. Fraenkel argued and won his first case in *DeJonge*, a 1937 breakthrough in the development of First Amendment law, and made his last appearance one week before his eighty-fifth birthday in 1973.

This is not meant to take anything away from Boudin's distinguished career, but how do his stats compare with Fraenkel's? *Samuel Walker*

REPLY

We stand corrected. Leonard Boudin, by our count, argued some nineteen cases before the United States Supreme Court. We are quite sure he would have been pleased to yield on this score to Osmond Fraenkel, whom he greatly admired and regarded as a friend. Indeed, the Rabinowitz Boudin firm provided a home for Fraenkel during the last years of his long, productive career. *The Editors*

I WANT TO BE IN THAT NUMBER

Evanston, Ill.

The playing and singing of "Dixie" at football games pitting traditionally all-white against all-black Southern schools does raise the kinds of protocol problems described in "More Than a Football Game" by Colin Soloway in the January 22 issue.

May I suggest a musically sound and politically feasible solution if South Carolina State College plays the Citadel again. If the Citadel plays and/or sings "Dixie" between halves, the black band should respond with "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." As a concession to Southern white sympathies, they need not sing the words to "John Brown's Body," as that would stretch Southern hospitality too far.

Then the massed bands from the respective schools could combine to play "When the Saints Go Marching In," followed by the tune of the old spiritual, "In That Great Gettin' Up Morning, Fare Thee Well, Fare Thee Well." That would be inspiration enough for both teams in the second half! *Gerald R. Adler*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 250, Number 10

LETTERS
330

EDITORIALS
329 The Newest Superpower
331 The Yen Menace
332 Past Tense — *Erwin Knoll*
333 Czeching Murdoch — *Stephen B. Cohen*

COLUMNS
334 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
336 Beltway Bandits — *David Corn*

ARTICLES
329 South Africa's Future: Negotiating a Nonracial Democracy — *Fatima Meer*
337 Legal Lynching in Louisiana: The Case That Refuses to Die — *Adam Nossiter*
341 Amazon Gold Rush: Brazil's Military Stakes Its Claim — *Linda Rabben*
342 Public Interest Power Games: Turf Wars at the Fund for Peace — *David Corn*
348 On Mandela's Left — *Joe Thloloe*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
351 The Most Sublime Event: Recent Books on the French Revolution — *Benjamin R. Barber*
358 Countdown (poem) — *Peter Cooley*

Illustrations by Jonathan Shapiro

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors*, George Black, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor*, Micah L. Sifry; *Literary Editor*, Elsa Dixler; *Associate Literary Editor*, Art Winslow; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Managing Editor*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Copy Chief*, Roane Carey; *Copy Editor*, Judith Long; *Assistant Copy Editor*, Anne-Marie Otey; *Assistant to the Editor*, Dennis Selby; *Interns*, Jody Berger (Washington), Laura Brownstone, Gideon Forman, Christopher Johnson, Peter Rothberg, Mark Schimmoeller, Deborah Schwartz, Laurie Stuhlbarg.

Departments: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Fiction*, John Leonard; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Theater*, Thomas M. Disch, Moira Hodgson; *Bureaus: Washington*, Jefferson Morley and David Corn, *editors*; *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *United Kingdom*, E.P. Thompson; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Christopher Hitchens (*Minority Report*), Stuart Klawans (*The Small Time*), Edward Sorel; *Contributing Editors*: Kai Bird, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, Katha Pollitt, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Herman Schwartz, Michael Thomas, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener; *Editorial Board*: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins. *Editors at Large*, Richard Pollak, Katrina vanden Heuvel.

Manuscripts: The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

President and Associate Publisher, David Parker; *General Manager*, Neil Black; *Advertising Director*, Chris Calhoun; *Advertising Sales Representative*, Caerthan Banks; *Classified Advertising Director*, Gary Pomerantz; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper*, Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director*, Margaret Pyle; *Subscription Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Circulation Coordinator*, Jacqueline Lucas; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Data Entry and Mail Coordinator*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Production*, Terry Miller; *Typography*, Sandy McCroskey; *Nation Associates*: *Director*, Sandra Zickefoose, *Assistant Director*, Carlos Durazo; *Syndication*, Jeff Sorensen; *Publicity and Special Projects Director*, Peter G. Meyer; *InterNation*, Chris Calhoun.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. © 1990 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc. 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $36; two years, $64. Add $14 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. This issue went to press on February 22.

EDITORIALS.

The Yen Menace

Now that we've lost the Evil Empire, it seems we've quickly found a replacement: Japan. As feelings toward the Soviet Union have mellowed, those toward Japan have turned more poisonous.

Even the language is getting McCarthyish. As an unidentified Senator recently told *The Economist*, "In a couple of years it will be as hard to be pro-Japanese in public as it was to be pro-Russian in the early 1950s." That may seem a bit extreme, but the Japan-bashing fraternity is planning a major escalation of hostilities by spring. And they're starting to bring the war home.

Like other McCarthyite manias, this one is powered by fear of the enemy within as well as without. Today's borers from within are paid lobbyists, who will be unmasked this spring with the publication of a book by Pat Choate, an economist and all-round neoliberal idea merchant in the employ of an arms contractor called TRW.

The Japanese have learned to work Washington as skillfully as U.S. multinational corporations do. They change their yen into dollars and buy influence in think tanks, in Congress and in the press, just like TRW and its colleagues, not to mention British and West German multinationals. Bashers may well ascribe this to the supposed Japanese penchant for imitation, as if there is something underhanded (or racially inferior) about surpassing a teacher.

Having done our best to transform the entire world into an open market for absolutely everything, the United States

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is now suffering the consequence of the economic and social war of all against all. The idea of an open world-trade system was ours; it was the product of the immediate postwar era, when our principal economic competitors had been destroyed, and free trade meant trade on U.S. terms. We got the world we wanted, but it turned on us.

One reason it turned is that we take our free-market preaching more than half-seriously. (So does Britain, which also suffers from a huge trade deficit, deindustrialization and social decay.) Japan and the other Asian export powerhouses don't. They realize that as the scale of competition in world markets gets ever grander, being a mere multinational corporation is hardly enough; the state has to assume a leading role. This is the key to Japanese and South Korean success, and it's foolish to insist that they should become more like us.

Japan is a tough place for foreigners to do business, for both exporters and investors. But if that were the extent of things, Japan would be an irritant, not an obsession. The real problem is that Japanese industry does so many things so well. In the face of that, our multinationals, who hardly lack for resources, have ceded whole industries to their Japanese competitors. Where they haven't ceded, they frequently lag.

The same instinct that sees domestic social decay and tries to purge it by building jails and invading Panama purges fear of economic decay by getting tough with the Japanese. It may get the juices flowing to wave a big stick over Tokyo and ferret out yensymps in Washington, but the real business at hand is social and economic reconstruction after a decade of avarice and imperial swagger.

Past Tense

On the front cover of its January/February issue, *Present Tense* proclaims in bold red type, "A growing number of American Jews, including many inside the Jewish establishment, are fed up with the hard-line views of Jewish leaders whom they did not elect and who, in any case, do not speak for them." The quotation is extracted from the magazine's lead article, "Speaking for the Jews," which asserts, in thirteen carefully documented pages, that prominent Jewish organizations and their umbrella group, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, lend blind support to the harsh stance of the Israeli government "despite reliable polls showing that the *majority* of American Jews either are unsure about that policy or disagree with it."

Author Robert Spero, a contributing editor of *Present Tense*, goes on to suggest that by projecting a false image of monolithic Jewish opinion, the organizations commit "a serious deception when peddled to the non-Jewish media and to high Government officials in the United States, Israel and elsewhere." This is hardly a remarkable contention. As Spero points out, opinion surveys conducted among American Jews have long shown disenchantment with the official Israeli line, and disaffection has significantly increased since the beginning of the Palestinian *intifada*. What is remarkable is that *Present Tense* is published by one of the organizations the article takes to task, the American Jewish Committee. Too remarkable, apparently, for the A.J.C. Early in February, shortly after "Speaking for the Jews" appeared, the committee announced that *Present Tense* will be permitted to put out only one more issue.

For seventeen years, *Present Tense* has been published in modest, soft-spoken counterpoint to the A.J.C.'s better-known publishing venture, *Commentary*. As Norman Podhoretz led his rebarbative neoconservative journal further and further to the nasty right, Murray Polner, the editor of *Present Tense*, did his best to sustain an alternative liberal—by no means radical—vision. *Present Tense* was sometimes irksomely "balanced," but it was always decent. Adam Simms, the magazine's publisher, told *The New York Times* that the Spero article "might have been the straw that broke the camel's back." Sholom Comay, president of the A.J.C., said the decision to shut down *Present Tense* was "strictly budgetary, absolutely nonpolitical." The magazine had been losing money—but it has always lost money. So has *Commentary*, which will continue to be sustained by the A.J.C.

With the demise of *Present Tense*, the message emanating from those who claim to speak for American Jews will become even more lopsidedly reactionary than it has been. Spero's article reports a number of instances in which dissenting views have been suppressed even within the tight hierarchy of the leading Jewish organizations. And *Tikkun*, a liberal magazine founded in 1986, apparently has failed to reach the readership and funding it hoped for; in recent months it has issued urgent appeals for financial support.

The Jewish leaders, in their determination to "speak with one voice" where Israel is concerned, are rendering their organizations irrelevant to growing numbers of American Jews. Comay, attempting to explain the decision to close *Present Tense*, said his organization faces an annual deficit of more than $1 million. Small wonder: For decades a strong commitment to social justice was a bond that united secular and religious Jews in a strong organizational network. Mindless support for Israel's garrison-state policies has dissolved that bond, and the Jewish community, the United States and Israel are worse off for it.

Each issue of *Present Tense* includes a statement of purpose, signed by Comay, which is part boast and part disclaimer:

> In sponsoring *Present Tense*, the American Jewish Committee aims to broaden understanding of conditions in the United States and abroad that affect Jews and the societies in which they live. . . .

COMING UP

Katha Pollitt on "Fetal Rights"

John Hess on Social Security and Its Enemies

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The opinions and views expressed by the contributors and editors of *Present Tense* are their own and do not necessarily express the viewpoint and position of the American Jewish Committee. The sponsorship of *Present Tense* by the Committee is in furtherance of its commitment to promote Jewish life and culture, protect Jewish security and advance human rights.

Not anymore. ERWIN KNOLL

Erwin Knoll is the editor of The Progressive.

Czeching Murdoch

The first Saturday in February, the Dalai Lama, wrapped in a purple robe with a Civic Forum button, attended synagogue in Prague's old ghetto. Tibet's spiritual leader, last year's Nobel peace laureate, had been invited to Czechoslovakia by President Vaclav Havel, who wanted to "meditate with the Lama and become more acquainted with the Lama's Buddhism." Rupert Murdoch was in Prague several days earlier trying to buy Civic Forum's newspaper, *Lidove Noviny*, which can't afford to publish more than twice a week and uses hot-type presses from the 1930s. But *Lidove Noviny* refused Murdoch rather than risk its independence.

The Dalai Lama's welcome and Rupert Murdoch's rejection are signs that Civic Forum has achieved a legitimacy and self-assurance that have eluded anti-Communist forces in the rest of Eastern Europe. In the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, a majority of Communist Party deputies have resigned and representatives designated by Civic Forum have taken their place. Except for the Defense Ministry, major Cabinet departments are headed by non-Communist ministers, who make policy decisions in consultation with President Havel.

Czechoslovaks remain nervous about a possible coup by their secret police, the S.T.B. At a meeting in the eastern Bohemia town of Pardubice, Havel was asked, "Is the government paying enough attention to the S.T.B.? Will there be a coup?" "Yes it is. No, there will not," he answered. After Interior Minister Richard Sacher announced that the S.T.B. would be confined to legitimate work such as issuing passports, skeptics distributed a cartoon of the S.T.B. interrogating a suspect handcuffed to a chair. A well-dressed gentleman, presumably Sacher, enters the interrogation room and asks, "Excuse me, would you mind stopping for a few minutes to issue passports?"

In fact, a coup seems impossible, given the depth of support for the new government. The only S.T.B. agents I noticed were those protecting the Dalai Lama. Ironically, one task for the new government is finding work for the estimated 20,000 Communist Party functionaries, including S.T.B. agents, who will lose their political jobs. "It is much easier to retrain industrial workers," said a deputy labor minister. "How shall I convince a professor of the history of the Communist Party, who knows all about what Lenin said at which meeting, to work in a grocery?"

The government faces two other critical problems: writing a new law to govern the first democratic elections in forty-four years, and preparing the transition to a market economy. On the election law question, there is a split between Havel and other Civic Forum leaders. In Havel's ideal polity, there are no political parties, only active citizens. Favoring what he calls "nonpolitical politics," the President wants citizens to vote directly for individual candidates. Petr Pithart, Civic Forum's chief political theorist, believes that Czechoslovaks, with no recent experience of free elections, need parties offering different programs from which they can choose. He wants citizens to vote for a slate of candidates nominated by a political party rather than for individual candidates. The Federal Assembly is considering an election bill that tries to combine both Havel's and Pithart's views through a complex procedure that would allow voters to choose either individual candidates or a party slate.

Because Czechoslovakia's economy is in much better shape than that of other Eastern European countries, there is less pressure for sudden and drastic moves to a free market, as in Poland. Moreover, while the new government is committed to a market economy, it is uncertain how to manage the transition and wants to proceed with caution. For example, the government favors privatizing industry and establishing Western-style capital markets, but fears that simply selling shares to the public would allow foreigners (especially West Germans) to buy at bargain-basement prices because of the unfavorable currency exchange rates. When asked to describe their ultimate objective, officials cite Sweden—a free enterprise system tempered with social conscience. Karel Dyba, a government economic adviser who spent last year in the United States, emphatically rejected Reagan-style free enterprise by paraphrasing Alexander Dubcek: "What you have in the United States is certainly not capitalism with a human face."

Jana Petrova, a Civic Forum member of the Federal Assembly, believes that the West has seriously misunderstood Czechoslovakia's revolution. "When the West found out we overthrew the Communists, they thought we'd embrace the American system. But we want neither Communism, nor American capitalism, but a third way. Social justice, a market economy and the nonpolitical politics of Havel. When the West finally understands, it will be surprised and perhaps inspired by us."

Petrova was explaining the spiritual basis of the revolution. The Communist government of Czechoslovakia had demanded total political and cultural conformity, enforced by the S.T.B. Even rock music was deemed subversive. Moral indignation at this lack of political and cultural freedom, rather than an economic crisis, fueled the Czechoslovak revolution. Thus, Petrova may be right when she says that Americans have something to learn from the Czechoslovaks. We had our first lesson as Havel welcomed the Dalai Lama and *Lidove Noviny* rejected Rupert Murdoch.

STEPHEN B. COHEN

Stephen B. Cohen is a professor at Georgetown University Law Center.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Trumpery City

Manhattan's answer to *Götterdämmerung* is the fissure between the Trumps, and its Wagner is Liz Smith. An age—the great eighties speculative boom, particularly in real estate—is dying, and the atmospherics of this decline are being appropriately reported in the genre revived in the mid-seventies to honor the great boom: the gossip columns.

Trudge north from Wall Street, where more than 50,000 people have lost their jobs recently, and in the fullness of time you will come, at the corner of Fifth Avenue and 56th Street, to the mighty structure known as the Trump Tower. Here too has been unfolding, albeit in less melancholy rhythms, another elegy to the eighties, in the form of the estrangement of Ivana and Donald Trump, with the former Czech athlete and the jowly Napoleon of real estate locked in dispute over the contours of their prenuptial agreement, a document the length and complexity of the SALT II Treaty.

Now, the Trumps were not alone in setting the tone of Manhattan over the past decade and a half; theirs were but two notes in a blare of vulgarity and remorseless self-aggrandizement. But the rising curve of Trump's success, expressed in the marble and brass of his tower, offers a measure of the city's primal pulse: real estate.

Some of the essential data are in Trump's immensely popular *The Art of the Deal*, a typically eighties saga of undisturbed success. His father, Fred, made a tidy fortune in the outer boroughs of New York building rent-controlled and rent-stabilized housing. But the son had "loftier dreams and visions," and he crossed the river to Manhattan.

Trump made his way just as the city was plunging toward bankruptcy in the mid-1970s, and crucial to his rise was Victor Palmieri, selling off the assets of the Penn Central Railroad. Trump got the 34th Street rail yards on the West Side and at first said he would build middle-income housing. But then subsidies for middle-income housing disappeared, so he promoted the site for a convention center, built in the end by the city. Next he bought the old Commodore Hotel over Grand Central Station and, in association with Hyatt, rehabbed it in reflecting glass. He got the option on the Commodore for just $500,000 and received a tax break whose minimum value was $160 million. In 1985 Trump was contributing $40,975 to the Koch campaign and receiving $80 million from the city in tax abatements. Having completed the Grand Hyatt project, he headed uptown toward the old Bonwit Teller site for development of Trump Tower, and down the coast toward Atlantic City and the prospective millions to be made there from legalized gambling.

Trump flourished exactly in step with the reordering of resources and consumption that began to take shape at the end of the 1970s. From a desperate city he exacted, as did all other developers, tax concessions. To New Money he offered sanctuary without shame. "From day one," he wrote, "we set out to sell Trump Tower not just as a beautiful building in a great location but as an event. We positioned ourselves as the only place for a certain kind of very wealthy person to live—the hottest ticket in town. We were selling fantasy." So, to its full sixty-eight stories rose the Trump Tower, with its boutique-lined atrium clad in pink Breccia Perniche marble and its capacious triplexes at the summit, two of them converted by Trump into his own quarters, some 24,000 square feet in area.

Trump gives an entertaining account of our times simply by reporting who bought the 263 apartments on offer:

> At first, the big buyers were the Arabs. . . . Then, of course, oil prices fell and the Arabs went home. In 1981 we got a sudden wave of buyers from France. . . . François Mitterrand had been elected president. . . . After the European cycle, we got the South Americans and the Mexicans, when the dollar was weak and their economies still seemed fairly strong. . . . During the past several years, we've had two new groups buying. One is American—specifically, Wall Street types, brokers and investment bankers who've made instant fortunes during the bull market frenzy. . . . The other new buyers are the Japanese.

At the moment, Trump is one of the most successful developers in American history, his enterprise concentrated almost entirely in luxury construction and gambling/hotel interests. Given the distended nature of these assets, public opinion seems to have settled on the thought that his $25 million prenuptial contract with Ivana is mean. The trouble with developers is that in the end they look at everything in terms of the cost per square foot.

From 'Where House?' to Warehouse

Trump Tower stands at the center of an island that now famously displays its linked dioramas of wealth and misery: the rich in their castles, the homeless on the subway gratings and indeed in the old rail tunnels below the gleaming bulk of the *ci-devant* Commodore. Stand amid the columns in Trump's penthouse palace and look to the south.

At around noon on February 19 some 500 people gathered at the northeast corner of Tompkins Square Park on Manhattan's Lower East Side. After some spirited oratory from Father George Kuhn of St. Brigid's Church, the marchers wound downtown, their numbers increasing as they made their way to the entrance of the *New York Post*, on South Street. Although *Post* employees were peering out the windows watching the rally and listening to vigorous chants of "Warehousing is a crime; Kalikow should be doing time," and even though there was an article the next day on the homeless, the *Post* did not cover the demonstration. (The only paper that did was the *Daily News*.)

The *Post*'s reticence was understandable. The newspaper is owned by Peter Kalikow, who along with his brother has an intimate relationship to New York's housing crisis. They are among the biggest "warehousers" in the city, holding apartments off the market in hopes of eventually emptying the buildings, by attrition and often harassment. Such landlords usually either make "capital improvements," thus getting tax breaks and big rent hikes, or simply tear the buildings down and put up luxury structures.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

"We raise our voices today against the Kalikow family," shouted Father Kuhn at the beginning of the march. Within a radius of fifty yards from where he spoke are ten buildings owned by Richard Kalikow, who has not rented a single apartment there since 1975. "There are 75,000 warehoused apartments in the city," Father Kuhn went on, "and at least 75,000 homeless people in the city."

The *Post*'s owner, Peter, can claim he is not his brother's keeper, but Peter owns 1,330 apartments between 78th and 79th Streets, a whole block between York Avenue and East End Avenue on the Upper East Side. This is the City and Suburban Complex. Around the turn of the century it was among the first complexes in the city built for working people, the idea being that it was possible to have apartments with air, light and low rents as well. Peter Kalikow bought these buildings in December of 1984 for $43 million and has been warehousing apartments there ever since. At first he wanted to tear down the entire block and put up four sixty-five-story towers. Even Koch joined the hubbub against this plan, and now Kalikow plans to rip down a third of the block and build an eighty-one-story luxury tower with 800 apartments. His present order of battle, according to Julia Kaminski, a resident of the complex, is to clear the necessary apartments by offering cash inducements, hiring private snoops to uncover illegal sublets, postering doors with fearsome notices and forcing tenants into the courts to prove their status as primary residents. Derelict apartments have invited crime, and by cutting services Kalikow has accelerated deterioration. On top of this he's been trying to prove the Sound Housing Act unconstitutional, saying it doesn't allow him a fair return on his investment. The State Supreme Court threw this out on February 2, but Kalikow says he will appeal.

Joint Estates

There's always been harmony between real estate and the Fourth Estate. Publishers love to see the wreckers' ball at work, or the neighborhood "improved" because it spells rich readers, better advertising demographics. The best example of this cohabitation of interest has been the *Los Angeles Times*, whose founding family hawked subdivisions and subscriptions as a joint offer to incoming settlers. Many of the nation's newspaper offices now rise, sumptuous and valuable, as centerpieces of downtown developments urged upon the populace by their editorial writers. Year after year *The New York Times* has thundered against rent control in diatribes written by the semiretired Roger Starr or the younger bloods.

As Trump fondly recalls, the City Planning Commission once frowned on his plans for Trump Tower. Then he invited the *Times*'s chief architecture critic, Ada Louise Huxtable, to look at his model. On July 1, 1979, she wrote a column flacking the beauties of the model and containing what Trump gratefully calls "several terrific lines," including the observation that "it is undeniably a dramatically handsome structure." In Trump's view "perhaps no one had a more powerful influence," and four months later the City Planning Commission unanimously approved his plans.

Media moguls of today take an avid interest in Trump, but not purely because of the news value of his marital disruptions. As the *Post*'s "Page Six" gossip column noted on February 20, Leonard Stern, *capo* of Hartz Mountain Industries and owner of flea collars, *The Village Voice* and a rich swath of the New Jersey shoreline, has invested $500,000 in a documentary on Trump's dealings. According to Ned Schnurman, the film's producer, Trump has successfully suppressed this endeavor, though it may be resurrected. Meanwhile, Ted Turner's people are embarking on *The Donald Trump Story*, on which Trump has final approval. A.J. Liebling once remarked that the content of America's newspapers depended on the calculus of a bunch of men in the New York dry goods business. These days it's the developers rather than the drapers who set the tone.

Now the great real estate boom is beginning to subside. All the happy young Wall Streeters are finding that co-oping has a downside, as property tax abatements expire and they face soaring taxes and mortgage and maintenance costs. The city too has to look at the cost of the go-go philosophy shaped in the mid-seventies, when the town was on its ass. The ensuing speculative boom was financed in part by tax holidays to people like Trump (who eventually got a $50 million abatement and a $9 million tax return on the tower, which not counting store and office revenues had made a profit of $50 million by 1987) on the argument that no one would build unless abatements and exemptions were offered.

The city's Department of Finance estimates that for fiscal 1990 the total cost to the city of abatements and exemptions on real estate taxes will come to $1.3 billion, of which total no less than 65 percent derives from exemptions for renovation of old apartment buildings or construction of new ones. Housing activists believe that most exemptions under the J-51 and 421-a programs have gone for luxury housing, but the city has done no firm analysis.

Their lawyers' arts will no doubt contrive a deal between Donald and Ivana. What could settle the crisis of homelessness? There was a bill calling for fines on landlords who practice warehousing but it died in the City Council. A more radical course says that warehousing can be attacked only by seizing unused property under the principle of eminent domain. Take the places over. Back in 1920 *The Nation* ran an editorial titled "Take Every Empty House":

> In a crisis such as now confronts us, no man has a moral right to close the doors of a building which he does not use; and if he will not rent at a fair rate, the municipal government should not hesitate to take possession, fix a fair rental, and let the people in. . . . It will take a robust Mayor and city government thus to take the law into their own hands; but the people would support them. The crisis is too acute and too near to wait for slow and formal processes. The emergency is as great, and calls for as prompt and energetic action as any that could arise out of a war. Let every empty house be opened for the people who will have no homes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ Babies on Board

Ronald Reagan's appearance to answer 154 court-approved questions on the Iran/*contra* affair notwithstanding, the scandal appears to be ending with a whimper. Americans who care about constitutional government can be justly angered by the costly and not so productive endeavors of Lawrence Walsh, the independent counsel. Walsh is not alone in deserving blame. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh has been quite obstructive; his decision to block the release of classified information led to the dismissal of the case against Joseph Fernandez, the C.I.A. station chief in Costa Rica charged with lying about his role in Oliver North's *contra* supply network.

The Fernandez trial could have disclosed some nasty secrets about agency activity in Central America, as the report of a Costa Rican government prosecutor intriguingly suggests. (For more on the report, which has received scant notice in the U.S. media, see Christopher Hitchens's column in the February 19 issue.) With its main subject the 1984 assassination attempt on *contra* leader Edén Pastora in La Penca, the report notes that around 1983 the Costa Rican government accepted an offer from the U.S. Embassy to train a small group of Costa Rican intelligence officers. This elite crew of fifteen, nicknamed the Babies, was under the instruction of a C.I.A. official who went by the name of Dimitrius Papas. The Babies were headquartered in a building whose rent was covered by the U.S. Embassy, which also provided desks, telephones, typewriters and two vehicles.

According to the report, the Babies spied on top Costa Rican officials, including President Don Luis Alberto Monge. They "practically lost all connections" with their Costa Rican supervisors and answered to Papas, who also maintained a close relationship with Albert Llorente, the director of the Organization of Judicial Investigations, the Costa Rican F.B.I. Papas used his contacts with the Babies and the O.J.I., the report charges, to interfere with the investigation of the La Penca bombing and thus to protect individuals associated with the North network. The report also claims that Papas passed funds to Llorente and that the Babies illegally received funds from private organizations, including one based in New York, in a scheme that involved the U.S. Embassy.

If the report is accurate, the C.I.A. hijacked Costa Rican intelligence. With Walsh off this beat, here's a good first project for whoever is appointed to the newly created post of statutory C.I.A. inspector general.

■ Still in the Cold

Anatoliy Golitsyn is up to his old mischief. Golitsyn was a K.G.B. officer when he defected to the West in 1961, bringing with him warnings that the K.G.B. had a fiendishly clever plan, supported by highly placed agents throughout Western governments and intelligence services, to mislead the West. Golitsyn's world view was embraced by James Jesus Angleton, the infamous counterintelligence chief of the C.I.A. Propelled by Golitsyn's claim that the K.G.B. had a mole in the upper regions of the agency, Angleton turned the place upside down in his search for the spy. None was found, and some C.I.A. officials came to believe that the Angleton-Golitsyn campaign was more disruptive than any mole could hope to be. Such was the paranoia of the two that they argued that the Sino-Soviet split was a sly maneuver to lull the West into a false sense of security.

With Angleton's retirement in 1974—he was booted out of the agency by William Colby, who said Angleton's theories about K.G.B. penetrations were convoluted in the extreme—Golitsyn lost his patron and soul mate. Now the Soviet oracle of doom has resurfaced and is being promoted by the Security and Intelligence Foundation, an organization directed by former intelligence officers, including some who used to work with Angleton. In a letter sent to every member of Congress, the foundation cites Golitsyn's response to the "apparent liberalizations" occurring in the East. It is a reprise of an old tune: "The Soviet Union is engaged in a massive long-term strategic deception operation designed to destroy NATO, undercut the anti-Communist policies of the democracies and encourage the United States to unilaterally disarm while obscuring continuing, indirect Soviet aggression in Asia, Africa, and Latin America." The foundation concedes that such a long-term plan may not exist, but in military and economic matters especially, it pays to be cautious. Whether Golitsyn has found new friends in the C.I.A. is unknown, but George Bush seems to be heeding the go-slow advice of the Golitsynites.

■ HUDscam II—and III and IV

Spurred by the scandal at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Senator John Glenn and Representative John Conyers wrote to Charles Bowsher, the comptroller general, to ask if HUD-type problems exist in other agencies. "I am convinced that they do," Bowsher responded, and he listed some high-risk areas, including:

§ Resolution Trust Corporation. This agency, created to oversee the savings and loan bailout, will manage and dispose of approximately $200 billion to $300 billion of thrift assets. "A sale of this magnitude is unparalleled in history," writes Bowsher. "The desire and potential to acquire these assets at bargain basement prices will make this area highly susceptible to fraud, waste, and abuse."

§ National Aeronautics and Space Administration. NASA will spend $11 billion on contracts in 1990, and its highly decentralized contract administration process offers "considerable potential for mismanagement, fraud and abuse."

§ Department of Energy. The D.O.E., Bowsher observes, "has had a history of inadequate contractor oversight." Its philosophy of "least interference" with its contractors renders the department ripe for rip-offs.

Of course, the Pentagon makes the roster. Its $100 billion in inventories include $30 billion in unneeded supplies. Perhaps in conjunction with new pressures to reduce the military budget, Bowsher adds, the Pentagon's supply system can be revamped. Golitsyn should have a chat with him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

LEGAL LYNCHING IN LOUISIANA

The Case That Refuses to Die

ADAM NOSSITER

Destrehan, La.

Lynchings in the Deep South are rare these days. Respectable Southerners never much cared for them anyway, although they recognized their usefulness as a way of keeping blacks in their place. Still, lynchings were awfully messy. So over the years, the starched-shirt South developed a cleaner, more formal way of carrying out this larger social purpose. It used the court system. Small-town Southern justice has proved as adept as any lynch mob at victimizing blacks.

This tradition, unlike the more violent one, has persisted to the present day. In the past few months, the attention of civil rights advocates in Louisiana has focused on a case that has long been considered one of the more egregious examples of Southern legal lynching. It began in this isolated, working-class Mississippi River town fifteen years ago, during violent upheavals surrounding the integration of the local high school.

On October 7, 1974, a furious mob of whites shouting racial epithets and hurling rocks and bottles surrounded a school bus full of terrified blacks from Destrehan High School. A shot rang out. On the sidewalk, a 13-year-old white boy, Timothy Weber, fell to the ground, mortally wounded. Gary Tyler, a 16-year-old black with a reputation as a troublemaker, was sitting on the school bus that day. He was arrested, convicted of Weber's shooting and sentenced to die in the electric chair by an all-white jury. He became the youngest person on death row in the United States.

In 1977 he was resentenced to life in one of the country's grimmest prisons, the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola. Today, Tyler still becomes enraged when he talks about his case, unlike many prisoners who proclaim their innocence. Racism sent him to Angola, he insists. Over the years, a substantial number of people have come to agree. His case was briefly an international *cause célèbre*. Amnesty International listed him as a political prisoner, hundreds of people marched and rallied in New Orleans in 1977 demanding his release and Gil Scott-Heron and UB40 have written songs about him.

Last spring his longtime attorney, Mary Howell, actively working on the case after a lapse of years during which she couldn't afford to devote all her time to it, appealed a second time to the Louisiana Pardon Board for Tyler's release. In mid-December, the pardon board recommended that he be eligible for parole in five years. That put his fate in the hands of Governor Buddy Roemer, and Tyler's supporters were not overly optimistic. Roemer has been more reluctant to grant pardons than previous Louisiana governors. Out of 597 pardon recommendations that have piled up on his desk in the past two years, Roemer has granted only 140. Sure enough, on January 24 Roemer rejected the board's recommendation, saying he was still convinced of Tyler's guilt. "I do want to send a signal that we will be fairly tough and consistent," said the Governor, who faces a difficult re-election campaign next year. The state, in arguing against a pardon for Tyler, noted that he has "demanded that he be allowed to correspond with socialist and communist publications like the *Socialist Worker*." Mary Howell intends to file another appeal with the pardon board.

The Tyler case began with a race riot and proceeded through brutal beatings and apparently coerced testimony by white sheriff's deputies. In the turmoil after young Weber's shooting, David Duke, then a 24-year-old rising star in the Ku Klux Klan, came down to St. Charles Parish with a posse of "security teams" to protect the populace from what he called "savage blacks and murderers." The affair ended with a trial, which the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit later called "fundamentally unfair" because Judge Ruche Marino told the jury it could presume Tyler's guilt. The appeals court nonetheless rejected Tyler's appeal on technical grounds.

For fifteen years, evidence has been accumulating that suggests Gary Tyler was not the person who shot Timothy Weber. In the past year alone, Howell has brought to light much new evidence. A December 1974 crime-lab report she

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JONATHAN SHAPIRO

Adam Nossiter is a reporter for the Atlanta Journal & Constitution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uncovered, which was never shown to the defense at Tyler's 1975 trial, revealed that the bullet that supposedly killed Weber had no blood on it. This is highly unusual in cases involving a head wound. The chemicals that state criminologist Herman Parish said he used to determine the presence of gunpowder on gloves worn by Tyler were the "wrong ones" and are never used by professionals in such tests, according to an affidavit by Ronald Singer, Parish's successor as director of the Jefferson Parish Sheriff's Office Crime Laboratory. Moreover, accurate tests for gunpowder require the presence of whole flakes. Only "dark specks" were found on Tyler's gloves, Singer's affidavit said. Not long after Tyler's trial, Parish was forced to resign because he had falsified test results in another case.

Last June, Howell's investigation located the man who had been sitting next to Gary Tyler on Bus 91 that day in October 1974. Larry Dabney, then a frightened 16-year-old, helped send Tyler to jail by testifying that he saw his schoolmate hide a gun in a bus seat immediately after the shooting. Dabney told the investigator he had been waiting fifteen years to tell the real story.

Late on the night of October 7, 1974, deputies picked up Dabney at his parents' house and took him down to the sheriff's office. "I'll never forget what happened next," Dabney told Howell's investigator. "It was the scariest thing that ever happened to me. The deputies didn't even ask me what I saw. They told me flat out I was going to be their key witness. They started telling me what my statement was going to be," Dabney said. "They told me I was going to testify that I saw Gary with a gun right after I heard the shot, and that a few minutes later I had seen him hide it in a slit in the seat."

It was a good story, but it was not true, Dabney now says. "I didn't see Gary or anybody else in that bus with a gun." But Larry Dabney was "scared to death" at the sheriff's office. The deputies told him he was going to "sign the statement they put together for me or I was going to jail for ten years." He signed the statement. Tyler went to jail.

Mary Howell insists the handling of the Tyler case was not unusual. "The system worked fine. This is the prototypical Southern legal lynching."

The desolation of the town of Destrehan adds plausibility to Howell's claim of a lynching. Lynchings typically occur in places cut off from urban, civilizing influences. There is an air of isolation about the nondescript tract houses that make up the communities that hug the Mississippi River at the edge of Cajun country. They lie in the shadow of the oppressive fifteen-foot-high levee, which runs for miles along the river and seals them off from the outside world. New Orleans, only twenty-five miles downriver, seems very far away. Local historians say the river parishes, of which St. Charles is one, have never been influenced much by the tolerant, easygoing city.

A giant Shell petrochemical plant has loomed over these communities in one form or another since the second decade

The Democracy Project & The New School present

DIALOGUE FOR DEMOCRACY

March 2-3, 1990

Friday Evening, March 2 (6–8:30)

Mayor David Dinkins
Stephen F. Cohen
Phil Donahue
Vladimir Pozner
David Shipler
Nina Belyeava
Mark Green
others....

Saturday, March 3 (10–3)

Ralph Nader
Ed Hewett
Laura Tyson
Nikolai Travkin
John Simmons
Sergey Plekhanov
Hazel Dukes
others....

Join leading Soviet and American officials and scholars in a cross-examination of each nation's "democracy." Call 212-741-5690 to reserve seat. $20. Seating limited. First come, first served.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of this century, but it has never provided much employment. An older monument here, the white-columned, eighteenth-century Destrehan plantation house beneath the levee, tells more about ancient sources of wealth and poverty. This was sugarcane and farming country, and when the agricultural economy collapsed earlier this century, it left behind poor whites and poor blacks, who competed with each other for jobs. Unlike many other Southern communities, there were no "segregation academies" to which whites could flee when integration came along. Whites and blacks would have to get along at Destrehan High. In fact, they sparred constantly, and every Friday there were fights.

Tyler himself was caught in a chain of circumstances that landed him squarely in Angola. It began on the evening of Friday, October 4, 1974, at that locus of small-town Southern hopes and aggressions, the high-school football game. A fight broke out between blacks and whites. What sparked it is unclear, but when school opened the following Monday the students had not forgotten. Taunts were traded. One student was stabbed with a wig comb, another with a knife. A teacher was also stabbed.

By the time the St. Charles Parish Sheriff's Department and the state troopers arrived, blacks and whites were in two groups, cursing each other and throwing rocks and bottles. Violence was in the air. Maj. Charles Faucheux of the sheriff's department coolly looked on as "one of the black students . . . ran to the highway and probably about fifty white students started chasing him," as the major testified in court papers. "I went back into the building . . . and called for more help." Eventually, the black students, including Gary Tyler, were herded onto buses to be sent home.

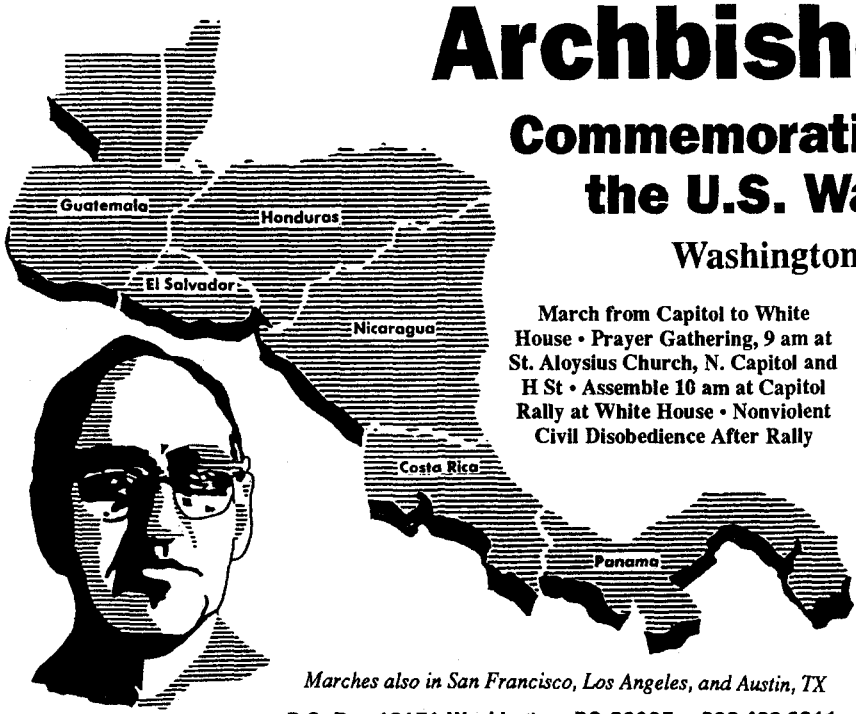
But for one sheriff's deputy who was to play a fateful role in Tyler's arrest and prosecution, the young man might not have been on Bus 91 that day. He had been sent home earlier by the principal after being involved in a confrontation with white students. But as he was hitchhiking with a friend, he was stopped by Deputy Sheriff V.J. St. Pierre. St. Pierre had arrested Tyler on a burglary charge the year before and considered the young man to be a "smart nigger," as he later called him. Tyler, the son of a service-station attendant and a domestic worker, was known for being outspoken in school. On this day St. Pierre searched Tyler and found nothing, but suspected him of playing hooky and drove him back to the school.

After the fighting started Tyler, along with other blacks, ran for the school buses to escape the menacing mob. As Bus 91 pulled out, a crowd of 200 whites surrounded it, throwing rocks and bottles and yelling epithets. The students on Bus 91 were terrified, as Tyler's brother Terry remembered in a recent interview. "They were on the attack, man. It was panic," he said. It was like "you be out in a boat, and the boat's sinking. You can't see the land." All of a sudden, the students heard a loud popping noise. Some hit the floor of the bus. "They were screaming and hollering" in fear, Tyler says. The sheriff's deputies told the bus driver to stop, and all the students were ordered out. The deputies

Archbishop Romero

Commemoration and March to End the U.S. War in Central America

Washington, D.C. Saturday, March 24, 1990



Assassinated March 24, 1980

March from Capitol to White House • Prayer Gathering, 9 am at St. Aloysius Church, N. Capitol and H St • Assemble 10 am at Capitol Rally at White House • Nonviolent Civil Disobedience After Rally

Marches also in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Austin, TX

P.O. Box 12151 Washington, DC 20005 • 202-483-3911

■ **End all U.S. aid to El Salvador**
Withdraw all U.S. advisors;
Stop Repressing the People: Respect human rights.
Support a negotiated political solution

■ **End the U.S. war against Nicaragua**
Respect Nicaragua's election; End the contra war
Lift the trade embargo and normalize relations

■ **No invasions**
End the occupation of Panama; U.S. troops and bases out of Central America;
End military aid to Guatemala

■ **Cut military spending; Fund human needs**

Steering Committee (In Formation): Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Christic Institute, Church of the Brethren, Conference of Major Superiors of Men, Central America Refugee Committee (CRECEN), Fellowship of Reconciliation, Jesuit Missions, Jesuit Social Ministries, Interfaith Office on Accompaniment, Maryknoll Justice and Peace Office, Pax Christi, USA, Unitarian Universalists, United Church of Christ-Office for the Church in Society, American Indian Movement, Building with the Voiceless of El Salvador, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), COMADRES, DC Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism (DC SCAR), Emergency National Congress on Central America and the Caribbean, FENASTRAS, Jobs with Peace, MADRE, Mobilization for Survival, National Labor Coalition on Central America, National Lawyers Guild, National Rainbow Coalition, Nicaragua Network, Office of the Americas, Pledge of Resistance, SANE/FREEZE: Campaign for Global Security, United States Student Association (USSA), Young Koreans United

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clambered onto the bus and "started treating us like animals," remembers Patricia Files, a student. "It was like they were on a rampage." Meanwhile, the crowd outside had become quiet. Timothy Weber had been hit by a bullet.

St. Pierre happened to be Weber's cousin. He rushed the young man to the hospital, but it was too late. Back at school, in the turmoil after Weber's shooting, Gary Tyler had been arrested for trying to intervene when a deputy was harassing a black student. He was brought to a St. Charles Parish Sheriff's Department substation. There, the enraged St. Pierre, a Vietnam veteran who had lost a leg in the war, was determined to find his cousin's killer. "I'm getting the motherfucker that did it," Tyler remembers him screaming. A deputy handed St. Pierre a blackjack, and he proceeded to beat Tyler systematically on the shoulders, knees and face. "So he ordered me to take off my pants; said he wanted to see what a black ass looked like," Tyler said in a deposition. Another deputy kicked him on the legs and in the back. St. Pierre stopped only when other deputies cautioned him that people downstairs could hear Tyler's cries.

One of them was Juanita Tyler, the young man's mother, who had gone to the sheriff's substation to find her son. "I could hear the sounds of a beating," she recalled in a recent interview. "It was like a smothered holler. The sounds of a person hollering. Sounds of licks. Bam, pow." She saw her son not long after the beating stopped. "He was just trembling," she said.

Tyler refused to confess, but the deputies did not need his confession. At least five black students said they had seen Tyler holding a gun, and one testified that Tyler had fired the gun into the crowd. Natalie Blanks, 14 at the time, was the prosecution's key witness. Tyler's arrest for murder was based on her statement, but there is much about her personal history that raises questions.

Blanks was Gary Tyler's jilted former girlfriend. She had been undergoing treatment at a local mental health clinic since 1968. St. Pierre was aware she had previously made three false crime reports, including a claim that she had been kidnapped, which he investigated. Her mother said, "She is just an exaggerating person whose word is not dependable."

A year after Tyler's trial, Natalie Blanks said that sheriff's deputies had forced her to incriminate Tyler. She had never seen Tyler with a gun. But Judge Marino was not impressed by her recantation, nor by evidence that she had a history of mental illness. "The Norco Mental Health Unit has treated almost maybe 99 percent of the population over here in St. Charles and St. John and Jefferson," the judge said. Another student on the bus, Loretta London Thomas, also recanted. The deputies had threatened her with jail unless she incriminated Gary Tyler, she said. She is thus the fifth witness, along with Dabney, Blanks, Files and Michael Campbell, to insist that sheriff's deputies forced testimony incriminating Tyler.

Ten years ago Howell, in preparing Tyler's appeal to the pardon board, asked to see the .45 semiautomatic introduced at the trial as the weapon that killed Weber. St. Charles Parish authorities said they couldn't find it. Ten years later it is still missing.

The gun has had an interesting history. For three hours after Weber's shooting, deputies searched the bus looking for a murder weapon. They found nothing. Then Natalie Blanks identified the seat Tyler had been sitting in. Deputies took it out of the bus, searched it and found nothing. Later, however, they said they had discovered the gun stuffed inside a long slit in the seat. It had no fingerprints on it. The gun was identified as one stolen from an indoor firing range in the suburb of Kenner, a range frequented by St. Charles Parish deputies.

Even if a gun was fired from Bus 91, the bus driver, a Korean War veteran named Ernest Cojoe, is certain it could not have been a .45. "If it was fired within the school bus, somebody's eardrums would have been busted in a closed bus," he said in a deposition. "I didn't hear any shooting off of my bus."

Fifteen years after Tyler's conviction, the prosecutor, Norman Pitre, has no doubt that he got the right man. He has heard about the new evidence Howell has come up with. It is all "fantastic suppositions," he said. Sitting in his law office in the desolate river town of Luling, Pitre said, "I've seen nothing to make me doubt the accuracy of the conviction."

Across the river in Montz, former St. Charles Parish Deputy St. Pierre limps to the front door of his family's welding operation to meet a reporter. There is an angry look on his face. A short, balding Cajun, he doesn't want to talk about the Tyler case. He and his ex-colleagues in the department have been smeared enough, he says. The renewed attention to the case "stinks," he says. "The only one benefiting is his mama." St. Pierre limps away. In a television interview last summer he denied beating Gary Tyler.

There is a police photograph of Gary Tyler and the other black students on Bus 91 taken shortly after deputies had ordered all the students off on the day of the shooting. He is sassing the camera, arms held out from his sides defiantly, a rebellious grin on his face. Up at Angola, after fifteen years of prison life, Gary Tyler is still defiant. "I knew I was innocent," he tells a visitor angrily. "Do you understand? I believed in the judicial system. I just hope that no one else goes through what I went through. I look at it like this. . . . My case is a symbol for many blacks. Knowing what happened to me is something that systematically occurs to

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion OH 43305

Please allow 4-6 weeks for processing.

PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address to the left, or call:

1-800-669-1002*

8:30 am to 8:30 pm EST

*Please note this number is for subscriber inquiries only.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

blacks around the United States, and particularly the South. It makes a statement itself. I only hope that what happened to me would never happen to anyone again." □

AMAZON GOLD RUSH

Brazil's Military Stakes Its Claim

LINDA RABBEN

On his recent trip to the United States and Europe, Brazil's President-elect, Fernando Collor de Mello, was described as something of an environmentalist, like George Bush. While Collor was enjoying the pristine beaches of the Seychelles in January, the present Brazilian government was up to its knees in mud, both in the northern Amazon jungle and in the halls of power in Brasília. Collor will inherit an environmental and political mess, along with the worst economic crisis in Brazilian history, when he is inaugurated on March 15.

For months, lame-duck President José Sarney promised to remove thousands of goldminers from Yanomami Indian lands in the frontier territory of Roraima. In January the government reversed Sarney's promise. This is grim news, not only for the Indians but for supporters of democratization in Brazil.

After more than two years' pressure by members of Brazil's Congress, indigenous-rights groups and environmentalists, the federal police, army and air force began the removal operation on January 8 but stopped the next day, citing miners' threats of resistance. The decision to allow more than 40,000 miners to stay in Yanomami territory and pan gold inside a national forest, taking two-thirds of the Yanomamis' traditional lands away from them, was essentially the military's.

Brazil's National Security Council (called Saden and principally comprising military men) forced Funai, the federal agency for Indian affairs, and Ibama, the environmental protection agency, to accede to this action. This violated new constitutional provisions guaranteeing indigenous land rights and flouted earlier decisions by the attorney general, who had declared the government's 1988 demarcation of Yanomami lands unconstitutional, and a federal judge, who ordered the federal police and, if necessary, the army, to remove the miners.

During the past two years, more than half the 9,000 Yanomami in northern Brazil have contracted malaria and other deadly diseases through contact with the goldminers. Congress recently appropriated funds for an emergency medical team to evacuate critically ill Yanomami, who have been without medical care since Funai closed two health posts in their territory in 1988. Indian supporters, doctors and human rights advocates say the plan is grossly inadequate.

The miners are mostly poor men who already tried their luck in government-sponsored colonization projects. They move from gold rush to gold rush, polluting rivers with mercury, invading indigenous lands and devastating the forests. They have gained access to the remote Yanomami territory by illegally using landing strips that the military has built during the past four years.

The airstrips are part of the Brazilian military's Calha Norte project to "Brazilianize," colonize and exploit a 6,500-kilometer-long, 150-kilometer-wide corridor of land along the frontiers with five other countries. The military began implementing Calha Norte in 1986, without the approval or even the knowledge of Congress. Even so, it has since managed to gain big appropriations from Congress for the project. A Calha Sud program was announced last year for the western Amazon.

The military's rationale for Calha Norte was to protect Brazil's borders, to prevent drug trafficking and to keep guerrilla movements in neighboring countries, such as Suriname, from spilling into Brazil. However, drug traffickers have increased their activities in the Amazon since the plan began, and the few troops stationed in the huge project area seem incapable of stopping this activity. Some of the troops are said to be engaging in illegal goldmining as well. Guerrilla groups seem uninterested in using Brazilian territory as a refuge, but Brazilian prospectors have made incursions into Venezuela, creating an embarrassing situation for the Brazilian government. Thus the Calha Norte program seems ineffective at achieving its stated objectives but all too efficient at facilitating devastation of the environment and destruction of the Indians.

The federal police and the military dragged their feet for

Linda Rabben, an anthropologist, is coordinator of the Brazil Network, a nonprofit organization based in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

months, claiming they "had no resources" to carry out the removal of the goldminers. But outside observers, including the Action for Citizenship human rights group, which is made up of eminent Brazilians, said federal authorities could easily dislodge the miners by closing the landing strips. Without the airstrips, miners could not continue to subsist or work in Yanomami territory. The government stopped 300 illegal flights during the twenty-four hours when it actually implemented the removal order.

Brazilian indigenous-rights advocates never believed that the government would carry out Sarney's program. The miners have the backing of big mining companies, local developers and the governor of the territory of Roraima, who is under federal investigation for corruption during his tenure as director of Funai. And the army minister expressed his contempt for Indians in a speech he made on "The Day of the Indian" last April, when he called indigenous ways of life "on a low level and not respectable."

Racism against Indians is overt in Brazil, especially in frontier areas. Land speculators, developers, big landowners and others who want to exploit the Amazon say that Indians "don't deserve" to keep their traditional lands "because they're idle and lazy, don't work and don't cultivate the soil." But thousands of Indians and other forest dwellers do conduct extractive activities without devastating the environment, whereas the deforestation, cattle ranching, mining and logging practiced by outsiders ruin huge areas in the Amazon.

The Brazilian government's broken promise has significance beyond its disastrous consequences for the Yanomami and their environment. In refusing to carry out a federal judicial order based on a ruling by the attorney general, the military has violated separation of powers and constitutional provisions and put itself above the law, compromising the legitimacy and power of the civilian government.

Some observers believe that when civilians took over the Brazilian government in 1985, the military made a deal that would allow it to determine Amazon development policy for the foreseeable future in exchange for giving up control of the state. The armed forces consider the Amazon region, which makes up almost half the nation's territory, to be a national-security area. During the twenty-one-year military regime, they tried to carry out ambitious, sometimes destructive, development projects there that helped drive Brazil deep into debt. Since 1985 they have intervened on numerous occasions in order to carry out their long-term plans for the Amazon, whether or not those plans violate the Constitution or other federal laws.

For example, when indigenous groups and rubber tappers complained to the Inter-American Development Bank in 1988 that the government was not complying with the conditions of an I.D.B. road-building loan in the frontier state of Rondônia, it was Saden that sent representatives to renegotiate the conditions. When the Brazilian government came up with its *Nossa Natureza* ("Our Nature") program to protect the Amazon as a result of international pressure, it was Saden's president, Gen. Bayma Denys, not President Sarney, who developed and announced the plan. In December 1989 Saden spearheaded a new bill on mining in indigenous territories. And Saden has had representatives in every interministerial group working on Amazon development.

With its refusal to remove the goldminers, the Brazilian military continues to insist on its control of Amazonia, preempting civilian authorities and warning President-elect Collor not to challenge the armed forces in this critical area.

Brazil's transition to a genuinely democratic civilian regime may be more problematic today than it was before last December's election, the country's first direct presidential vote in twenty-nine years. United States lawmakers and World Bank and International Monetary Fund officials will all have to bear in mind the continuing power of the Brazilian military when they draft legislation and negotiate new loans for Brazil. So will environmentalists as they draft their campaigns to preserve the Amazon rain forest. The military needs to be convinced that sustainable development is in its and Brazil's best interest. Otherwise, the destruction of Brazil's Indians and the Amazon's fragile environment will continue, along with the weakening of civilian institutions and the erosion of democracy. □

PUBLIC INTEREST POWER GAMES

Turf Wars at the Fund for Peace

DAVID CORN

Turf wars and political battles are endemic to the Washington power game, and even the people in the public-interest community who lobby for idealistic causes are not immune from them. Bickering over strategies and tactics, clashes of ego and all sorts of maneuvering distract from the real work at hand. The Fund for Peace is one significant player in this small world that has had a fair share of such commotion in the past year. In three instances a dispute has occurred between the fund and a member group.

Founded in 1967 by Randolph Parker Compton, a well-heeled liberal Republican investment banker and one-worlder, the fund's mission has been not so much to finance organizations, as its name might imply, but to provide support services like bookkeeping, tax-exempt status and fiduciary management for fledgling groups. The fund, which had a budget of $3 million in 1989, has made a notable contribution by assisting the start-up and subsequent administration of some important groups in the left-liberal cosmos. While associated with the Fund for Peace, these groups are known as fund "projects." They include the Center for Defense Information, a major research center with a pro-arms control slant that is now independent of the fund; the Center for National Security Studies, which monitors U.S. intelligence agencies; and the National Security Archive, which collects and organizes government documents on national security and foreign policy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is precisely this noble tradition that makes some of the squabbles between the fund and its projects worrisome. The disputes ostensibly were about management matters, but they also present political disagreements and, in one case, a possible conflict of interest involving the spouse of a member of Congress.

Last summer Bill Herod, the executive director of the Indochina Project, then associated with the fund, thought he had a good deal. The soft-spoken Disciples of Christ minister was delighted when Jeremy Stone, president of the Federation of American Scientists, offered the Indochina Project free office space. Herod could move his shop out of its cramped quarters in the annex of the Brookings Institution and spread out over two floors of a Capitol Hill town house owned by the federation, saving more than $7,000 a year in rent—a sizable sum for his modestly budgeted group.

But when Nina Solarz, the executive director of the Fund for Peace, heard about Stone's generosity, she tried to block the move. Her action caused sparks to fly, perhaps particularly so because of several facts: Stone has been one of the most prominent critics of sending lethal aid to the Cambodian resistance, a policy championed last year by Representative Stephen Solarz, chair of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, and her husband.

Congressional spouses are in a tough position. When they attempt to pursue an independent professional life, they can easily confront questions of conflict of interest, especially when they are in the business of influencing Congress, however public-spirited their goals. Inevitably, Nina Solarz's response to the proposed relocation of the Indochina Project, which shares Stone's antipathy toward Representative Solarz's position on Cambodia, prompted the question of whether her motivations might be personal or political.

Solarz bristles at any talk that links her professional decisions to her husband. "I object to that strenuously," she says. "My name is Nina Solarz. I'm not Stephen Solarz. I do not take bidding from my husband. The so-called feminists who say I take orders from my husband do more than annoy me. They offend me. . . . That is such crap." She jokes that her husband sometimes wishes she wasn't so independent.

Solarz says that she initially opposed the Indochina Project's move only because she believed it could have been construed as an affiliation with the Federation of American Scientists, so it should have been discussed by the advisory board of the Indochina Project. Absent that discussion, she said, the move should not have been allowed to occur.

But at the time of the fuss, Solarz wrote Herod that the relocation could not happen unless approved by the Fund for Peace's executive committee, not the project's advisory board. Herod asserts that the only reason Solarz offered for her decision was her belief that Stone had "a hidden agenda."

Sorting out what actually happened is further complicated by the competing recollections of members of the Indochina Project's board of advisers. Paul McCleary, chair of the advisory board and executive director of the Christian Children's Fund, says that some members of the board had

economics demystified

LBO is a monthly newsletter on economics, politics, and their interactions worldwide. Regular coverage of billion dollar bailouts, trade wars, the polarization in living standards, Third World debt, financial markets, and the Fed.

Just published: a two-part look at *perestroika.* New subscribers get a free copy of part one, which includes an interview with Boris Kagarlitsky, a leader of the Soviet "new left," on market Stalinism, alternatives to Gorbachev, and the possible breakup of the USSR. *Forthcoming:* women and work, corporate medicine, the U.S. and foreign investment.

admirably literate, even stylish and often sharply insightful.
—Alan Abelson, *Barron's*

factual, clear, stylish, and funny... makes sense of an often senseless world
—Susan George

salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals
—Alexander Cockburn

I read you with pleasure.
—John Kenneth Galbraith

Subscriptions One year (11 issues) $18 individual, $45 institutional/high-income. U.S. dollars only. Please add $10 outside North America. Sorry, we can't bill you.

LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER 250 W. 85 St. — Dept. NM New York NY 10024-3217

INTERNATIONAL PEACE CRUISE ON THE DNIEPER RIVER

JOIN US FOR A UNIQUE ADVENTURE IN CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

•

JULY 20 THROUGH AUGUST 7, 1990

•

$2,725 PER PERSON

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:
PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE
P.O. BOX 5103, WOODMONT, CT 06460 USA
203-878-4769

Socialist Scholars Conference

Democratic Upheavals and the End of the Cold War
April 6,7 & 8, 1990
Boro of Manhattan Community College, CUNY
199 Chambers Street (near Trade Center), New York City
The usual suspects and hundreds more . . .

- Paul Sweezy
- Lynn Chancer
- Barbara Ehrenreich
- Bogdan Denitch
- Joseph S. Murphy
- Cornel West
- Stanley Aronowitz
- Daniel Singer
- Stanley Aronowitz
- Ellen Willis
- Frances Fox Piven

1990 REGISTRATION

Make checks payable to: "Socialist Scholars Conference" and mail to: R.I. Norman, Jr., CUNY Democratic Socialist Club, Rm. 800, 33 West 42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10036. Please enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope for return of registration materials before conference. (212) 996-4366

Preregistration: ☐ $22.50 ☐ $12.50 (student/low income)
Regular Registration: ☐ $30.00 ☐ $15.00 (student/low income)
Professional Childcare available during the day on Saturday and Sunday.
☐ I need childcare for _____ children.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

questions about the move, particularly the implications of accepting free office space from another group, and that Solarz did not act inappropriately. But Edward Dougherty, a former Foreign Service officer on the board, notes that Herod's decision to accept the space was not a serious step and that politics "may have had something to do" with the row.

Herod went ahead and accepted Stone's offer without Solarz's consent. This led to further bureaucratic wrangling, and the Indochina Project and the Fund for Peace eventually agreed to part ways. The project now operates on its own.

To Herod, the episode was particularly troubling because it followed an incident in which, he asserts, Nina Solarz brazenly flexed her muscles on a substantive political matter. Last April the Indochina Project held a briefing on Cambodia for Congressional aides and journalists. Herod says that Solarz vetoed the participation of Stone and another proposed panelist, both of whom could be expected to speak out sharply against lethal aid to the resistance. Solarz participated on the panel and presented her own views on Cambodia. She "made no secret of her support for the Stephen Solarz point of view," recalls one aide who attended the session. "The range of speakers ran from A to B."

"I was profoundly embarrassed," says Herod, who felt compelled to notify colleagues that Solarz's remarks did not represent the opinions of the Indochina Project. In an interview with her lawyer present, Solarz maintained that she had virtually no say in the composition of the panel and did not ban any potential participants. Stone confirms that Herod invited him to attend and then withdrew the offer.

Nina Solarz, who has run the show at the fund since 1987, appears to have a proclivity to provoking or being drawn into disputes. This might simply be due to the nature of the business or because Solarz is a tough, strong-minded administrator. But some who have been on the other side of bureaucratic battles with Solarz say that her agenda is dominated by concerns that are literally too close to home.

Before joining the Fund for Peace, Solarz was executive director of Peace Links, a grass-roots network of 350,000 women devoted to the nuclear arms control issue. One person who worked at Peace Links during Solarz's tenure recalled that in 1987, when a staff member proposed that the group address nonproliferation issues, particularly Pakistan's efforts to make a nuclear bomb (which was much in the news at the time), Solarz scuttled the idea. "She said, 'We don't know enough about it. We're not experts. You can't do that.' " At the time Stephen Solarz was opposing an aid cutoff to Pakistan, then being pushed by nonproliferation advocates.

Solarz laughs when asked whether she blocked anyone at Peace Links from working on this issue. "My quarrel with Peace Links," she says, "was that it was run like women sitting around a kitchen table and that Peace Links did not have an agenda other than telling women they should cry and wring their hands about nuclear war." For Solarz, Peace Links' big problem was that "it wasn't interested in issues. If Pakistan had come up at Peace Links I would've been so pleased I would've shouted hooray." She did not prevent anyone from pursuing the matter, she asserts, adding, "I'm not sure anyone at Peace Links knew where Pakistan was."

Solarz's association with Peace Links apparently did not work out—so much so that the terms of her departure had to be codified in a confidential agreement negotiated by lawyers representing the group and Solarz. The accord notes that both parties would respond to any inquiries about Solarz's resignation by "stating that she left Peace Links because of policy and philosophical differences, without further explanation." Asked to discuss Solarz, Betty Bumpers, the founder and president of Peace Links, would say only, "No comment."

Have Solarz's actions been guided inappropriately by political interests? There's no clear-cut proof, just reason to worry.

Nina Solarz also tangled with Scott Armstrong, a former investigative reporter for *The Washington Post* who founded the National Security Archive in 1985. The archive is a godsend for reporters and academics. Its main function is indexing and publishing enormous sets of documents. (Its El Salvador collection, for example, contains 5,500 documents totaling 27,000 pages.) But the archive also has been a staunch advocate of freedom of information policies, and some of its staff, including Armstrong, were highly visible on Op-Ed pages, in magazines and on television talk shows during the public debate on the Iran/*contra* scandal.

Armstrong claims that part of the trouble was caused by his outspokenness on certain subjects. For example, he pointed out that George Bush's accounts of his involvement in Iran/*contra* did not jibe with the documentary record; in other words, Bush lied. Nina Solarz maintains that the only issue was Armstrong's less than sound management of the archive, and that the Fund for Peace, the vehicle through which the Ford Foundation and others give financial support to the archive, had a keen interest in guaranteeing smooth operations. The upshot of the episode, some of the details of which are disputed by participants, is that Armstrong is no longer executive director of the archive.

What's clear is that there have indeed been management problems at the archive, including budget difficulties and delays in producing document sets, and there was some skittishness on the part of the Ford Foundation, the major financial backer, about the outside writings and public appearances of archive personnel. Armstrong freely admits he had faults as an administrator. He says that he was willing to move from the executive director post to a less managerial position, but that Solarz, driven by an urge to control, wanted him out of the office entirely, and the Ford Foundation wanted a less vocal Armstrong—which, as anyone who knows Armstrong will attest, was a wish unlikely to be fulfilled. Stanley Heginbotham, a deputy director of the Ford Foundation, says the foundation has a policy "of not speaking on issues relating to the grantees." Solarz maintains that Armstrong, suffering from "founder's disease," was reluctant to relinquish the reins, so an ugly battle ensued.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STACKABLE BEECHWOOD BOOKSHELVES—
AT A PRICE YOU'D EXPECT TO PAY FOR PLASTIC!

THAT'S RIGHT! NATURAL WOOD FURNITURE AT AN AFFORDABLE PRICE.

ONLY **$39.95** EACH
LIST PRICE $59.95

A Beautiful Complement to Any Decor.

This quality shelving system is made of natural European beechwood—a hardwood tough enough to be used for flooring and beautiful enough to be used for fine furniture.

STACK-A-SHELF has a place in every room, whether it's to show off your library or just to organize unsightly clutter. The STACK-A-SHELF system is perfect for showcasing your personal treasures. Everything from vases to pictures can be proudly displayed on these good-looking, versatile and, above all, affordable units.

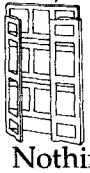
Stack Them...They're Interlocking

Each free-standing unit measures 27¾" wide ×11" deep ×37" high, and is designed to interlock and stack. This means you can actually create your own wall unit. And if you move, just fold them down and take them with you.

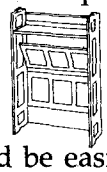
And natural beechwood is attractive...even unfinished. So the unit can be used immediately or you can paint, stain or varnish your STACK-A-SHELF to match your own decorating needs.

Sets Up In Seconds...Without Tools!

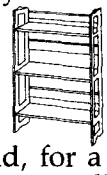
No tools, screws or glue required. Just take the unit out of its flat carton, fold the sides out, and the shelves practically fall into place.



1. Comes in flat carton



2. Shelves fall into place



3. Slides open on hinges

Nothing could be easier. And, for a limited time, Barnes & Noble is offering all of our STACK-A-SHELF units at a savings of 33% off the retail price. So don't pile— decorate in style, with affordable beechwood shelving from Barnes & Noble.

Barnes & Noble Unconditional Guarantee
You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it to us, for a full refund.

ORDER BY MAIL OR CALL TOLL FREE ANYTIME
1-800-242-6657

- STURDY
- DURABLE
- PORTABLE

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873

126 FIFTH AVENUE, DEPT. H322, NEW YORK, NY 10011

1569888. Please send me _____ Sturdy Beechwood Shelf Unit(s) at your special sale price of $39.95 (plus $6.95 shipping and handling per unit). Please add applicable sales tax for deliveries to CT, MA, MN, NJ, NY, PA & CA(6%).

Name _____

Address _____ Apt.# _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Check ☐ Mastercard ☐ VISA ☐ American Express

Expiration Date Month/Year ☐☐☐☐

Credit Card Number ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Several archive staff members downplay politics as a guiding force behind the dispute. Philip Brenner, an archive board member sympathetic to Armstrong, notes that there were some substantive disagreements. According to Brenner, Solarz looks at the archive very narrowly and fails to understand the importance of its advocacy role, and the Ford Foundation, a cautious mainstream organization, has always been nervous about the political dimensions of the archive. But he says this was at bottom a turf war over "who would rule . . . a personal fight that became very nasty."

Armstrong is now a visiting scholar at American University, where he is establishing the Washington Center for International Journalism, which will sponsor programs to assist foreign reporters. The National Security Archive is being run by a troika of staff members while it searches for a new executive director. In the meantime, the archive recently completed work on its Iran/*contra* document set, which contains 4,500 documents. The archive may well function better without Armstrong at the helm, but, as Brenner observes, "if he's totally separated from the archive, it will suffer from not having his vision."

Earlier in 1989 the Center for International Policy had a run-in with the fund. The center, founded in 1975, is a small policy shop that deals with issues of U.S.-Third World relations—in recent years, mainly Central American topics. Last spring its affiliation with the fund was terminated, a move that caused it severe financial difficulty, since the center had been using a line of credit issued by the fund. Solarz says the split was amicable and that the fund simply thought it was time for the center to leave the nest, as fund projects sometimes are encouraged to do. But William Goodfellow, the director of the center, sees it differently: "I was ordered to smile as I was pushed off the gangplank. Nina told us that the [Central America] issue was over and there was no longer a need for our work." The center is now back on its feet and is functioning as an autonomous group.

The static that has marked the fund's relationship with some of its projects is no trivial matter. The causes espoused by these projects—a just U.S. foreign policy, open and accountable government—are quite important. The fund deserves credit for fostering some worthy organizations. Some of its more recently implemented programs, such as one that sponsors trips to Washington for New York City schoolchildren involved in a conflict-resolution class and another intended to assist human rights workers in Africa, seem to indicate a change in course from its usual role of serving as an umbrella for vital groups doing in-the-trenches work in Washington. These are organizations that, at various times, have created major news stories and affected national policy. If conflict with projects is inevitable, perhaps it's best for the fund to stick to running its own programs. The turbulence only helps those on the other side. It's a bit ironic that the self-described mission of the organization Nina Solarz directs is "exploring peaceful solutions to thorny problems." □

Democracy

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

Apartheid has failed to keep a lid on the African population, which is doubling every three decades and spilling into the urban areas at such a rate that, by the year 2000, 80 percent of the urban population is expected to be African. Poverty will no longer be hidden in the townships and homelands but will overrun the cities; unemployment, already estimated at between 20 and 40 percent (depending on how it is defined), will worsen. The shortages of jobs, housing, food and clothing are mind-boggling for even the most progressive government to tackle. Small wonder that, faced with these massive dilemmas, overtaken by widespread revolt in the townships, threatened with escalating sanctions and faced with influential pockets of the white electorate already looking to the A.N.C. as an alternate government, the Nationalists should have decided to abandon the sinking ship of apartheid and assume the democratic model the A.N.C. has been clamoring for these past forty years.

But if negotiations are imperative for white survival, so too are they for black. Governments are not brought down by boycotts, civil disobedience and guerrilla warfare in themselves; they are brought down by the social, economic and psychic disorders they create.

The A.N.C., as Walter Sisulu so ably explained last year, always has given priority to a negotiated settlement, and in this it reflects the will of the disfranchised masses. In a 1985 national survey of about 2,000 people, 90 percent of those interviewed supported negotiations between the government and true leaders to bring about change. Eighty-five percent of respondents in a 1983 survey considered a leader to be someone who is critical of the government but who would cooperate when it is beneficial. Only 11 percent considered a leader to be someone who would never cooperate with the government. A survey carried out in the Durban region at the height of the 1976 Soweto uprising found that only 11 percent supported violence as a means to change.

Neither the white nor the black community is a political monolith. Both are characterized by multiple political positions. The A.N.C., destined to be the future government, plans for a multiparty democracy. There are strong prospects that the disfranchised will close ranks and present a unified black front at the negotiating table, despite the prevailing ambivalence of the Black Consciousness Movement and the Pan-Africanist Congress and the outright rejection by the New Unity Movement of negotiations as a "ploy to nip in the bud the development of the struggle in South Africa onto a high plateau." The fact is that if these organizations wish to lay claim to the general will, they will have to

Fatima Meer, a retired professor of sociology at the University of Natal, now heads The Institute for Black Research in Durban. She is the author of Higher Than Hope, *a biography of Nelson Mandela to be published by Harper & Row this month.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

join negotiations. At the same time, pragmatism and the logic of democracy will compel the A.N.C. and other black radical organizations to accept homeland constituencies within their ranks.

While the blacks may well close ranks, this does not seem to be the prognosis on the white side. The official white opposition, whose leader, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, places the responsibility for racism in the lap of God ("My Bible tells me that God was responsible for the division of the people. It is not a coincidence and not a sin"), won the support of 31 percent of the white electorate in the last election. Outside Parliament other even more racist and openly Nazi-type parties operate. However, this wild and dangerous opposition to black majority rule is currently concentrated in the Pretoria-Johannesburg area, and there is little indication that its influence will spread. On the other hand, the influence of Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk can only grow stronger as they assuage white fears and inspire confidence in the idea of a nonracial democracy.

Negotiation is the last rite in any historical struggle. In that sense alone negotiation is unavoidable. Whether we have faith in the Nationalists or not is beside the point. The central issue for us is to have faith in ourselves to confront them. As Mandela has said, "We know what the Nats have done *to* us; we don't know what they can do *for* us." Since he said that recently, the Nationalists have conceded to our basic conditions for negotiations and Mandela himself has been released. It is now a question of what *we* can do for ourselves.

In other negotiated settlements in Africa and Asia, outside forces have intervened. In most cases, these have involved ex-colonizers; in Namibia the United Nations mediated the settlement. But in South Africa the negotiating parties are on their own. In all those other instances the process of negotiations was long and drawn out. In South Africa the negotiations do not have so much time: The disfranchised have continued a bitter and relentless struggle for much too long; their expectations are currently much too high, their patience much too thin. Above all, there is no reason for footdragging.

The restoration of international confidence in the country depends on internal peace, and if the transition to majority rule does not accelerate, the country could be thrown back into a fresh, more prolonged and more chaotic round of violence. This is not the time for South Africa's trading partners to talk about withdrawing sanctions or rewarding de Klerk. Any such "reward" would be the kiss of death and may revive white delusions that they could revert to apartheid after all. The interests of both enlightened Afrikaners and A.N.C. pragmatists are best served by retaining sanctions, even increasing them, until the delicate transition to democracy has been made and a new government is actually, or about to be, installed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although South Africa's disfranchised have been motivated to join antiapartheid mass movements, they have not thereby constituted themselves into a classless or raceless fraternity. When we identify ourselves as non-Europeans or blacks, we do so on a political, not a cultural level. The wounds of racial separation are too deep, and they will take more than a generation to heal. We live in separate racial groups, pursuing separate ethnic life styles, and we are privileged or underprivileged according to our race. We may abolish group areas, but we dare not move populations to establish a residential mix overnight. What we will have to do is increase the economic empowerment of the underprivileged, fundamentally through the extension of free, equal and compulsory education, higher wages, increased job opportunities through affirmative action and a rationalized taxation system. There appears to be little prospect of our moving into a socialist economy in the immediate future.

Black and white have to come to terms with each other, and they have to do so on their own. In other African and Asian liberation struggles the authority of foreign colonizers had remained in place even when the government was effectively in the hands of white electorates. In the case of Namibia the country was under trusteeship, first of the League of Nations and then of the United Nations. As for Zimbabwe, Britain imposed sanctions when the white settler government declared its unilateral independence.

It took Zimbabwe eight years to elect its Constituent Assembly after the Ian Smith government, under pressure from Britain, agreed to move toward majority rule. South Africa accepted a Western-sponsored plan for an independent Namibia thirty-three years after the United Nations first voted to end the South African mandate. It took eleven more years after the adoption of Resolution 435, which laid down the terms of withdrawal, for Namibia to elect its own assembly.

On Mandela's Left

For the twenty-seven years that he was in jail, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela grew to be a legend—the world's best-known political prisoner, the personification of black suffering and a symbol of the hopes of the black community. On his release, Mandela surprised those who might have been hoping for a moderate turn in his thinking by expressing his support for the continuation of the armed struggle and economic sanctions. But evidently he still hopes that President F.W. de Klerk will create what Mandela calls "a climate conducive to negotiations." He has clearly aligned himself, then, with Africa's optimists, who believe that de Klerk is ready to share power with blacks in a meaningful fashion. Among the optimists on the left of South Africa's political spectrum are the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front.

But there are also pessimistic voices. The more radical Pan-Africanist Congress, which broke away from the A.N.C. in 1958, was unhappy when the Organization of African Unity adopted the A.N.C.-inspired Harare Declaration last August. The declaration showed both the O.A.U.'s and the A.N.C.'s desire for reconciliation by setting preconditions for talks that did not include the actual dismantling of apartheid. That, says the declaration, would be the task of an interim government arising out of the negotiating process. The P.A.C. and its supporters inside the country, such as the Pan-Africanist Movement, said that it was not necessary for Africa to show the olive branch until de Klerk proved he was abandoning apartheid.

They argued that de Klerk was talking about power sharing and writing a new constitution while the "five pillars of apartheid"—the Land Act, the Population Registration Act, the Bantu Education Act, the tricameral Parliament and the homelands system—were still firmly in place. The P.A.C. insisted that whatever deal is cut with de Klerk while these structures remain will be a sham, and it called for a continuation of the struggle as if de Klerk had made no overtures at all. This stance is backed by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in exile as well as by its supporters inside the country, such as the Azanian People's Organization.

The mood in the townships is belligerent, and the government has already retreated on a number of crucial issues, including Mandela's release. It also has promised to lift the state of emergency soon. The A.N.C. is clearly aware of this angry mood, and the growing confidence of the people will place it in a difficult position. If the A.N.C. negotiates, its followers will expect nothing less than one-person, one-vote democracy. Yet indications are that the government is not ready for that, with de Klerk suggesting that group rights have to be protected. Although he has softened the National Party's language, referring only to the "protection of minority rights," he still talks of "national entities" and "nations" rather than a single South African nation.

If the A.N.C. emerges from negotiations with less than the minimum demanded by the black community, it will have destroyed itself. Yet the pessimists face an equally great dilemma: If the A.N.C. does secure these minimum demands at the negotiating table, the P.A.C. and its allies will have written themselves out of South Africa's future. The liberation movements, then, must perform a delicate balancing act that requires impeccable timing.

JOE THLOLOE

Joe Thloloe has been a journalist since 1961. He is deputy editor of The Sowetan, *South Africa's largest black daily newspaper and the country's second largest.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The interests of white domination are preserved today through top-heavy political and administrative structures that eat up a considerable part of South Africa's resources. Aside from everything else, apartheid is very expensive. We are burdened with a tricameral Parliament of 308 members, who ostensibly represent just over 8 million whites, coloreds and Indians. On that basis, the remaining 75 percent of the population would be represented by 924 members, giving us a 1,232-seat Parliament. (India, with an electorate of 500 million, has a Parliament of 529 members.) Our first task, then, is to rationalize the size of our future Parliament.

While bearing in mind that voting patterns are sensitive to a vast range of social events, one could, on the basis of the 1989 election results and recent surveys of the disfranchised, compute some predictions of voting behavior for a constituent assembly, were it to be elected in the very near future. The domination by the Nationalist Party would disappear. The A.N.C. would be ascendant, but its dominance would be moderated by ethnic and ideological factors. It would win a substantial percentage of the African vote, almost half the Indian and colored vote and a small percentage of the white vote.

The negotiated settlement will be strongly influenced by racial interests, regardless of the nonracial and antiracial rhetoric in the black community. Class interests also will intervene. The combination of race and class, coupled with fears of being isolated, may well encourage minority parties to form coalitions. Thus, the Azanian People's Organization, the Black Consciousness Movement and the New Unity Movement may form a bloc to the left of the A.N.C., the Democratic and Nationalist parties to the right-center and the Conservative and Herstigte National parties to the extreme right. The South African Communist Party may develop its own identity and provide another forum for moving the country toward socialism, an economic system that research shows is favored by most blacks. Finally, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement could throw in its lot with a Nationalist/Democratic Party alliance if it fails to maintain its independence and cannot reach a reconciliation with the A.N.C. This would further strengthen the opposition and threaten the A.N.C.'s overall majority.

With these kinds of predictions, and with little prospect of a socialist state being established in South Africa in the immediate future, whites really have little to fear. In the final analysis, it is the black left that will be compromised, although a nonracial Parliament will provide it with more room to pursue its objectives.

Negotiations imply taking all representative guidelines into account, making a genuine attempt to appreciate one another's constraints—political, economic, cultural and psychological—and working out solutions that respect those constraints. Compromises are inevitable, and if the parties enter the negotiating chamber with the attitude that compromising means selling out, then negotiations will fail even before they begin. □

Which of these 10 secret incentives will lure you to The Soviet Union in 1990? Ask Anniversary Tours!

ALMA ATA Its name means "Father of Apples," it's tucked into a picturesque mountain valley at the foot of the lofty Tien Shan range, and you'll fall in love with it—guaranteed!

It's in Soviet Central Asia, it's another world **BUKHARA** 2500 years old, and it was a major center of the ancient Great Silk Road. Magnificent Islamic architecture. Come see it, before it gets a minute older!

DUSHANBE There, on the banks of a mountain river in far-off Tadjikistan, the men wear Tyubeteika skull caps, and everyone shops in noisy, colorful, wonderful public markets. On three sides there are soaring mountains—a haunting, unforgettable sight at twilight, not to be missed. Don't miss out!

Its elevation is 3000 feet and it's just north of Mt. **EREVAN** Ararat, where Noah is said to have climbed out of his ark after the flood subsided. In 1990, it will be 2771 years old, give or take a few seasons. Sometimes it's spelled Yerevan, but not by Anniversary Tours. Either way, it's the capital of Armenia, the USSR's smallest republic.

KHABAROVSK Almost but not quite as far east as you can get in the Soviet Union (try Vladivostok, or Nakhodka, the main Pacific coast entry port for Japanese travelers). A main junction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, which it is never called by the Soviets (to them it's the "Great Siberian"). On the Amur River, which forms the border with China for over 1000 miles.

This is the capital of the North Caucasian autonomous Republic of Kabardin-Balkar, in the Russian Federation. The perfect spot if you want a great view of the towering Caucasian range, not far from Europe's highest peak, 18,481-foot Mt. Elbrus. Be the first one on your block to go there! **NALCHIK**

NOVOCHERKASSK This is the heart of "Cossack Country, where the 500-year-old traditions of those bold and skillful warriors—including the fierce and ferocious Yermak Timofeyevich, legendary conqueror of Siberia—are preserved in the Don Cossack History Museum. 25 miles from Rostov-on-Don, the gateway to the Volga Don Canal.

You don't **ORDZHONIKIDZE** have to pronounce it to enjoy the marvelous vistas of this capital of the autonomous republic of North Ossetia, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasian Range. It's the northern entrance to the spectacular Georgian Military Highway. The southern terminus is Tbilisi, capital of the Soviet Republic of Georgia.

PALEKH This is the place northeast of Moscow where superbly skilled artisans make those marvelous little black lacquered boxes, decorated with fanciful fairy tale paintings. It's just down the road from Ivanovo, 30 miles east, hang a sharp left at the traffic light.

Founded in 1340, an ancient monastery town **ZAGORSK** 44 miles from Moscow. A principal center of religious pilgrimage for over 500 years. If you've been looking for the tomb of Boris Goudonov, this is the place.

Of course, we'll take you to all the more familiar places as well — Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and more, with their wonderful historic sights. We rest our case: at Anniversary Tours, we're *the* experts when it comes to the Soviet Union. And we can suggest many more fascinating and unusual destinations in the USSR!

Can't decide? Call or write for our free brochure!

ANNIVERSARY TOURS • 330 SEVENTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, NY 10001
IN NEW YORK STATE (212) 465-1200 • OUT OF STATE TOLL-FREE (800) 366-1336

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUBSCRIBING TO OUR PRINCIPLES ISN'T ENOUGH.

YES! I WANT TO SUBSCRIBE TO YOUR MAGAZINE, TOO. Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a saving of 64% off the newsstand price and 18% off the regular price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME _____ (Please print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Send me a half year (24 issues) for $15.
☐ My payment is enclosed.
☐ Please bill me later.

For new subscribers only.
Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues.
Air Mail rates available upon request.
Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

D0C2S-9

You should be subscribing to our magazine, too.

Because week in and week out *The Nation* brings you the likes of Katha Pollitt, Edward Sorel and Christopher Hitchens in every issue.

They're not only some of the best writers and illustrators around—they do their best work for us.

The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Most Sublime Event

BENJAMIN R. BARBER

Napoleon liked to say history is fable agreed upon. Anyone who reads more than one history of the French Revolution knows that Napoleon had it exactly backward: History is truth not agreed upon. That is to say, while historical events may possess some essential core meaning, a truth visible to wholly impartial spectators (the Estates-General *were* convened in Versailles in 1789; Louis XVI *was* subsequently tried and executed), there are and can be no impartial spectators and thus there is no such thing as historical truth. For however wedded to impartiality historians may be, they always live in two worlds: a world of the past, which may be conceived of hypothetically as having some unitary meaning, and their own world of the present, which imbues them with values, preferences and biases from which historical meaning can never be entirely disentangled. (Was Louis "tried and executed by patriots" or was he "framed and assassinated by traitors"? Did his execution define or betray the Revolution?)

In America the history of the founding as mediated by the Progressive historians and their Lockean critics from Louis Hartz to John Patrick Diggins has mirrored the profound contest over the meaning of America waged by ideologues and politicians: Are we a nation of conflicting classes or a nation of centrist consensus? Is the relationship between property and liberty adversarial or complementary? In answering such questions the American historian has, in Louis Hartz's own words, "tended to be an erudite reflection of the limited social perspectives of the average American himself." Alas for truth, there turn out to be as many perspectives on the founding as there are average Americans (that is to say, quite a few).

History is not exactly fable, then, but the multiplicity of historians and the variety of their histories make it endlessly contestable and hence unavoidably fable-like. In the case of the French Revolution, one of those stellar compound happenings that, in Louis Blanc's phrase, made it appear to its early chroniclers as "the most sublime event in history," the histories number in the hundreds. The chroniclers were at work before events could run their full course, denigrating them (Burke) or celebrating them (Paine, Condorcet and, following the fall of Napoleon, Mignet and Thiers) with little less zeal than had been displayed by their historical subjects. On the two-hundredth anniversary of the capture of the Bastille they show not the slightest sign of tiring—re-revisionists resolutely revising the revisionist accounts of still earlier revisers in a battle not simply over the meaning of history but over the meaning of modern France, modern democracy, modernity itself.

This is not to suggest that history is a matter of political whimsy or wholesale ideological invention. Positivist and Marxist historians uncovered and utilized village records and demographic data that enabled them to take the measure of social forces that were nearly invisible to the early chroniclers. Careful review of these and other data by revisionist historians like Alfred Cobban and Richard Cobb compelled Marxists to acknowledge that the human costs of repressing counterrevolution had been far greater than they had allowed, and made some of their "explanations" of revolutionary violence look like whitewashes. But finally, numbers are just numbers, and meaning can scarcely be decided by counting. If "only" 4 million instead of 6 million were killed in the Holocaust, if 250,000 rather than "just" 40,000 died in the suppression of the counterrevolution in the Vendée, are these events more or less grave? more or less despicable? forgivable? astonishing? explicable? The numbers alone will never tell us.

Each age since the 1815 Treaty of Paris has enjoyed its own French Revolution, based in part on the political needs of the time. Thus the Romantics of the first half of the nineteenth century, still chasing the ideals of revolution in a Europe in the throes of ongoing political and social struggle, told a story of awesome men pursuing Rousseauist ideals to the death. The Great Tradition celebrated the Revolution uncritically, rationalizing the overthrow of the Girondins and the appalling excesses of the Terror, turning the aggressions of revolutionary armies into crusades of liberation and assuming that but for the revolutionaries, France would have remained aristocratic, hegemonic and feudal into the nineteenth century and beyond. None were so fulsome or convincing as Jules Michelet, to whom (in his monumental history, written over a period of twenty years and completed only in 1868) the Revolution appeared as a Hegelian consummation of history itself: "The spirit of the Revolution . . . contains the secret of all previous times," he wrote. "Only in it did France become conscious of herself."

Romantic and idealist celebrations of the Revolution as the triumph of liberal nationalism gave way in midcentury (as Norman Hampson suggests in an excellent essay on historiography in George Best's *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy*) to Positivist and Marxist accounts emphasizing, in the spirit of Auguste Comte's new science, objective social forces rather than individual men and their parties. The new history saw in men like Necker, Mirabeau, Lafayette, Danton and Saint-Just bearers of class standards and economic interests rather than idiosyncratic individuals; the Revolution became a forge of class rather than national identity. Nonetheless, history remained on the side of justification, leaving the Revolution on the side of history.

Yet the revisionist tradition of the past twenty-five years, starting with Alfred Cobban's reassessment in the early 1960s, actually began with Alexis de Tocqueville's *The Ancien Régime and the Revolution*, published in 1856. Tocqueville argued that the Bourbons had already gone a long way toward destroying feudalism along with its aristocratic local liberties by centralizing and modernizing France, and that the Revolution therefore had to be regarded as part of rather than an alternative to those powerfully paternalistic, modernizing tendencies. Thus was established the core interpretive dilemma of the Revolution: Did it interrupt and perhaps even overthrow an old regime wallowing in feudalism, and thereby initiate France's (Europe's) democratization and modernization, as its fans,

Benjamin R. Barber is Walt Whitman Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University and the author of Strong Democracy *(University of California),* The Conquest of Politics *(Princeton) and, with Patrick Watson, the companion volume to the television series* The Struggle for Democracy *(Little, Brown).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON WEEK IN REVIEW:

Exploring the issues that shape our times

Each week, noted journalists analyze the events that affect our lives on "Washington Week in Review," public television's longest-running public affairs program.

Now in its 23rd year, "Washington Week in Review" provides a probing in-depth look at what is happening in the nation and the world.

Ford Motor Company, in its 11th consecutive year, is proudly joined by Ford Aerospace in underwriting this informative program.

"Washington Week in Review" is produced by WETA in Washington, D.C. Consult your local listings for day and time in your community.

Ford

scientific as well as romantic, wish to think? Or did it merely reinforce and continue a modernizing process already under way? Or perhaps, as radical revisionists like Simon Schama insist, did it even contradict and try to roll back those emerging forces of modernization? Was the monarchy part of the *ancien régime* that needed to be overcome, or was it an instrument of modernization that had contributed to the liquidation of France's feudal liberties and federalist autonomies—with, for example, the abolition of the *parlements*—and therefore could be attacked by revolutionaries only at the cost of progress?

The dispute was not to be quickly resolved. On the eve of World War II, the great Georges Lefebvre could still believe, in his *The Coming of the French Revolution*, that France's most potent symbol of modern liberty was its revolutionary tradition, which could be a bastion of liberal and egalitarian ideals that might motivate the war against National Socialism. After the war, with the triumph of democracy and the defeat of Vichy (the last gasp, so to speak, of the Vendée counter-revolution), the French lost a certain interest in the need to uphold the revolutionary legacy. Marxists like Albert Soboul (the postwar occupant of the chair of revolutionary studies established at the time of the centennial celebration and previously occupied by such Marxist titans as Mathiez and Lefebvre) have continued to refine their celebratory thesis, using the Revolution to defend an egalitarian agenda, but British and American historians entered the debates in the 1960s with a more critical perspective, one that spelled the end of the Great Tradition. This new perspective has increasingly been employed to take the revolution out of the French Revolution.

In recent years revolutionary historiography has responded to the millennial spirit that has been seeping into academic discourse and then bleeding back out again in the form of teleological terminalism ("The end is at hand!") disguised as unitarianism ("Everything is converging!") and manifested as hope ("All conflict is over!"). We have arrived at (take your pick) the end of ideology, the end of nature, the end of communism, the end of the cold war, the end of war itself, the end of historical progress, the end of history itself (again Hegel). No wonder, then, that historians of the French Revolution have come to accept François Furet's conviction that at long last one can say, "The French Revolution is over," in historiography no less than in history [see Daniel Singer, "Dancing on the Grave of Revolution," February 6, 1989]. And so, the old battles finished, the time for serious clinical analysis has finally come.

Or has it? There is plenty of contradictory evidence. As liberty pops up here, it vanishes there, eroding in Manila, emerging in Prague; threatened in San Salvador, reborn in Buenos Aires; crushed in Beijing, rediscovered in Moscow. The ideological bickering manifested in Margaret Thatcher's curmudgeonly remarks at the official celebration of the Revolution in France last summer suggests the Revolution isn't over yet for some people. Not at least for the Catholic Church, which not so long ago beatified ninety-nine martyrs from Angers who were victims of the Revolution.

Even stronger evidence against Furet's claim can be found in the latest entry in the French Revolution's scholastic sweepstakes: Simon Schama's voluminous *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. (No historian can enter this contest weighing in under a couple of reams; "the most sublime event in history" calls for more than a monograph and often elicits multivolume efforts.) On the face of it Schama's book, the most widely reviewed and certainly the most widely read of the torrent of bicentennial publications on the Revolution, is nominally in the mood of Furet. Schama is a spoiler, a realist, a deconstructionist and demystifier who is unwilling to celebrate a Revolution that by the revised standards of class identification and attitude seems so antimodern and by the revised numbers of the Revolution's casualties seems so costly.

Schama is, however, no scientistic heir to the pretensions of nineteenth-century social and economic analysis, with its focus on forces rather than individuals and social structures rather than events. On the contrary, Schama quite prefers the methods of the oldest kind of history: history as un-self-conscious prephilosophical chronicle. And, let it be said, Schama has unquestionably assembled and stylishly embellished the most entertaining, readable and absorbing compendium of anecdotes, stories and gossip about the Revolution that has been seen, at least since Carlyle.

But that *Citizens* is any more dispassionate than the ancient chronicles of Herodotus or Livy, or that its author grinds no axes and stands impartially before the "truth" of history, will be believed by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no one who actually reads his book. Far from being over, with Schama the battle for the French Revolution is rejoined with unprecedented gusto. Skepticism also has an affirmative agenda: When arguments that once were used to criticize and undermine men and institutions (say, of the old regime) are "demythologized," these men and institutions are miraculously rehabilitated and relegitimized. The radical critique of radicalism, intentionally or not, rationalizes status quos—a lesson radical advocates of deconstruction seem not yet to have learned. Even David Hume, that champion of rational skepticism, noted that skepticism was but the first step toward becoming a sound, believing Christian.

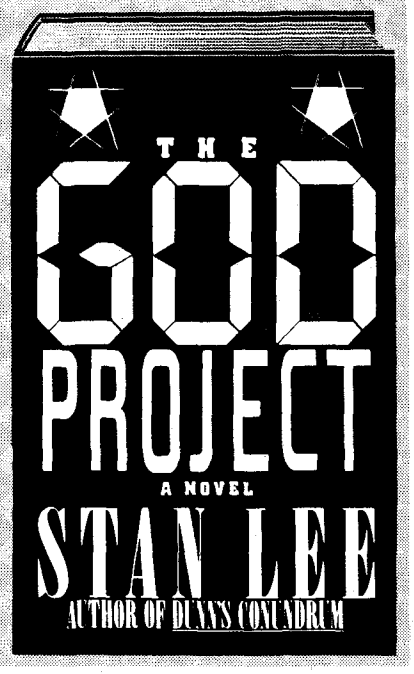
Now, Simon Schama has unquestionably written an extraordinarily readable and provocative chronicle of the French Revolution. A Harvard historian who previously published an equally adroit study of the famously prosperous Dutch Republic, Schama is not just a revisionist. Nor is he just a conservative who dismisses the Revolution's emancipatory rhetoric as window dressing for what were in his eyes profoundly anticapitalist and antimodern tendencies among the revolutionaries (the Revolution, writes Schama, "was as much the interruption as the catalyst of modernity"). His is a more timely and fashionable skepticism: the facile cynicism of the Reagan 1980s, combining Reagan's secular moralizing with youthful anti-Reagan cynicism-cum-nihilism. This is yuppography, less antipolitical than uninterested in politics, less ideologically conservative than ideologically neutered.

Schama's story of the French Revolution reads as if Tom Wolfe had happened upon the Minutemen at Lexington and taken gleeful notice only of the dirt on the farmers' hands and the narrow, peasant glint of their rebellious eyes, as if Jay McInerney had captured the struggle for civil rights by writing a snappy tome on Sammy Davis Jr.'s career in Las Vegas. Like other fashionable writers of the 1980s, Schama comes on like a precocious whippersnapper: breezy, acute, sassy, brilliant, sneering, facile, wise-ass, dismissive and terminally glib. How's this for a facile account of the Bastille: "Conditions were by no means as bad as in other prisons. . . . For that matter, compared with what twentieth-century tyrannies have provided, the Bastille was paradise." Sure. And compared with the Holocaust, the repression of the counter-

"Funny, sexy, and smart" —Kirkus Reviews

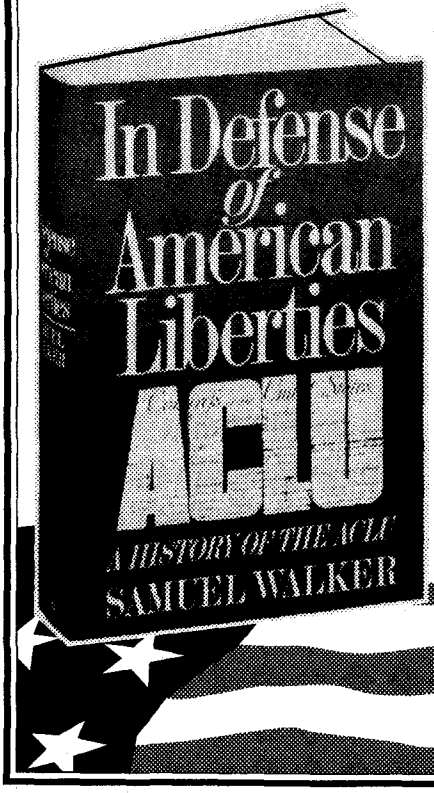
Somebody is spending billions on a hush-hush weapons project, and President Richard Halliday is determined to find out why he's being kept in the dark. This witty, suspenseful, and completely original thriller takes us into the mirror-lined corridors of power, and reveals that the ultimate threat is a lot closer to home than we had thought.

"Mr. Lee's black humor often suggests that of Kurt Vonnegut. . . . His ideas are cogent, his style is bracing and he has us cheering for the new President and the team he has assembled." —Newgate Callendar, *New York Times Book Review*



GROVE WEIDENFELD

"A story so dramatic that it sometimes tells itself."
—The New York Times Book Review



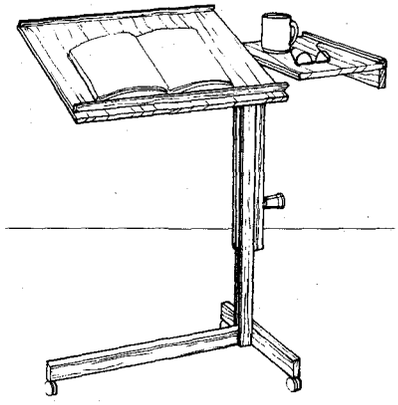
"A definitive history of what is probably America's most controversial private organization . . . . Richly informative . . . written tightly and well."
—The Washington Post Book World

"This book is more than a compelling history of the ACLU. It is the fascinating story of America's most exciting legal struggles and of rights reviled in one era and vindicated in the next."
—Eleanor Holmes Norton

Just published by Oxford

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lay Down Your Arms

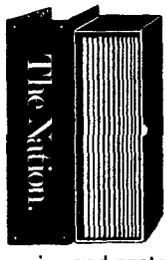


Ah, to read without aching arms and dented elbows. Now you can with our teak Reader's Table from Denmark. It adjusts easily to hold your book at just the right height and angle. Reading becomes surprisingly comfortable in a chair, beside a desk, or in bed. An intelligent design and a handsome piece of furniture.

$184 includes shipping via UPS ground. Assembly required.

MC/VISA/AMEX/Check
Money-Back Guarantee • Catalog on Request
800-544-0880 or 407-276-4141

LEVENGER
Tools for Serious Readers
975 S. Congress Ave., Code TNRT3, Delray, FL 33445



SAVE THE NATION

Organize and protect your back copies in Nation cases or binders, covered in red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or 1 binder holds 6 months (1 volume) of *The Nation*.

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95

Mail to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept. N, 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134.

I would like _____ cases; _____ binders.

Enclosed is my check for $_____. Add $1 per unit postage/handling. Outside U.S. $2.50 per unit.

Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15. To charge call toll free 1 (800) 972-5858.

Name _____

Address _____
(NO P.O. BOXES PLEASE)

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

Payment in U.S. funds. PA residents add 6% sales tax.
Satisfaction guaranteed. 9010

revolution in the Vendée, about which Schama and the revisionists are so exercised, was a picnic. So what? But then, this is style that is in large part about having a style, and when it comes to style, "So what?" simply is not a pertinent question.

Indeed, style often seems to take the place of argument in Schama's scheme of history. In the chronicler's drama, violence plays better than politics. Peace and happiness are, as Hegel reminds us, blank pages in history's bloody book; Schama thus prefers to devote his attention to the slaughterbench. Although professing an equal interest in liberty and citizenship (the other two of his three major "themes"), Schama's chief concern is with violence. His book might have been called more suitably *Violators*. For he is among that cheerful tribe of modern debunkers who seem to think that it is revolutionaries who invent violence, and that the French Revolution can be understood exclusively by reference to that cruel invention. "In some depressingly unavoidable sense, violence *was* the Revolution itself," Schama informs us, almost before he has begun his story. By the time he gets to the excesses of the Committee of Public Safety, he is certain that "the Terror was merely 1789 with a higher body count. From the first year it was apparent that violence was not just an unfortunate side effect from which enlightened Patriots could selectively avert their eyes; it was the Revolution's source of collective energy. It was what made the Revolution revolutionary."

Are we really to believe that there was never an act of political violence in France until a crowd assaulted the Bastille? That arbitrariness and brute force are born of revolution alone rather than of the repression against which revolution conspires? Schama thinks so. Like those who are forever exposing some "outside agitator" to explain social turmoil, Schama discovers history's villains not in its acting victimizers but in its reacting victims. The problem lies with the protesters rather than with the conditions they protest. Schama seems not to know what Douglas Johnson has said everyone must really know, namely, "that there were many examples of injustice and tyranny under the *ancien régime*, that the Saint Bartholomew massacre did take place, that people starved, were tortured, imprisoned, impressed, expelled from their smallholdings or dismissed from their positions." Instead, Schama writes "as if violence, oppression and injustice are only associated with the Revolution."

François Mignet was one of the first great representatives of the Great Tradition, and as such he wrote history that has a Panglossian ring for readers today. But he was being something more than a Pollyanna when he observed that the Revolution had "replaced arbitrariness with law, privilege with equality; it freed men from class distinctions, liberated the soil from provincial barriers, industry from the impediments of the trade guilds, agriculture from feudal burdens and the imposition of tithe, property from the restrictions of entail, and restored everything to a single state, a single law and a single people." It also ended slavery in the French colonies, emancipated women (to a point) and wrote a model Declaration of Rights. It is all very well to add up the costs of revolution and to shudder at the arithmetic. But one must also know what is being purchased, and how much it is worth. In Schama's math, only violence gets counted. And it is in his account of violence that his biases, his heavy-handedness and his remarkable selectivity emerge most clearly. Just as Paul Fussell, in his book on World War II (*Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War*), focuses on the capacity of gunpowder to rend and fragment flesh and the propensity of steel to maim and kill men, and thereby concludes naturally enough that the war could not possibly have been justified, so Schama focuses on the endless horrors and multiplying corpses of the Revolution and thereby concludes naturally enough that the Revolution could not possibly have been justified.

Now the condemnation of *all* war—the "good" ones included—is a powerful moral position, as the example of consistent pacifists reminds us. There is much to be recommended in a healthy skepticism toward the putative achievements of war, violence and revolution; indeed, toward all of what both politicians and revolutionaries claim are the benefits of their ideas and policies. The human costs of order, justice, equality, property and other noble human ideals, progressive and conservative, are often far higher than anticipated. But this is not Schama's position. Yes, he abhors violence, but he abhors violence selectively. What counts as violence in *Citizens* appears to be a matter of political taste. It is "*their*" violence (in this case the revolutionaries' violence) not "*ours*" (for Schama "our"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

side is the modernizing monarchy's).

Take the appalling bloodshed at the Tuileries in August 1792. Schama himself tells us that there was confusion aplenty, with the revolutionaries massacring some of their own troops accidentally (their uniforms were red-hued like those of the Swiss guards), and he acknowledges that the vehemence of the slaughter was "largely produced by the impression . . . that a deliberate trap had been laid for the attackers." Having said this, however, Schama nonetheless manages to conclude that

> the carnage of the tenth of August was not an incidental moment in the history of the Revolution. It was, in fact, its logical consummation. From 1789, perhaps even before that, it had been the willingness of politicians to exploit either the threat or the fact of violence that had given them their power to challenge constituted authority. *Bloodshed was not the unfortunate byproduct of revolution, it was the source of its energy . . . . Means had become ends.* [Emphasis added.]

This is a non sequitur nonpareil. Again and again, violence that is circumstantial, explicable by reference to particular conditions Schama himself often alludes to, is turned into generic evidence of the bloody-mindedness of the revolutionaries, of revolution as such.

The pertinent question that must be asked about violence, at least by anyone who is not a consistent pacifist, is, By whom? And *to* whom? In the opening passage of *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault offers an excruciating eyewitness account of an execution that involves a victim whose "flesh will be torn from his breasts, arms, thighs and calves with red-hot pincers, his right hand . . . burnt with sulphur, and, on those places where the flesh will be torn away, poured molten lead, boiling oil, burning resin, wax and sulphur melted together and then his body drawn and quartered by four horses and his limbs and body consumed by fire." No doubt Schama would have noticed and included this famous execution had it been a product of the Terror. But as it happens, it was the execution of the regicide Damiens by the Crown thirty-two years before the Revolution—and, as Foucault notes, a symbol of the monarchy's awful exercise of hegemonic power over the bodies of men. The awful exercise of the Crown's hegemonic power over the bodies of men lies outside Schama's purview, however.

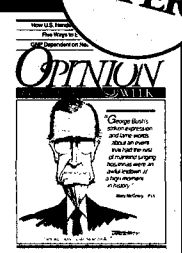
Our choosy historian is a fastidious

OPINION WEEK

FREE OFFER

A New Liberal Voice

OPINION WEEK reprints current syndicated, editorial commentary by over 36 influential columnists and America's most talented cartoonists – all with liberal viewpoints.



ENJOY A PANTHEON OF PUNDITS

FOLLOW EVERY COLUMN, AS A RULE, BY MARY MCGRORY, DAVID BRODER, TOM WICKER, COLMAN MCCARTHY, RICHARD COHEN, ELLEN GOODMAN, JESSE JACKSON, LINDA ELLERBEE, JIMMY BRESLIN.

AND HUMORISTS ART BUCHWALD, RUSSELL BAKER, MARK RUSSELL, DAVE BARRY, ANDY ROONEY.

PLUS BOB GREENE, MIKE ROYKO, CORETTA SCOTT KING, MURRAY KEMPTON, NEAL PEIRCE, RALPH NADER, MAX LERNER, MICHAEL KINSLEY, LES PAYNE, SANDY GRADY, CARL ROWAN, NAT HENTOFF.

AS WELL AS MOST COLUMNS BY JAMES HOAGLAND, GERMOND AND WITCOVER, WILLIAM RASPBERRY, LARS-ERIK NELSON, ANTHONY LEWIS, HOBART ROWEN, CHRIS MATTHEWS, WILLIAM SCHNEIDER, ROGER SIMON, WILLIAM PFAFF.

DISCOVER A THOUSAND POINTS OF BITE

EVERY WEEK, DELIGHT IN THE BARBS BY FEIFFER, OLIPHANT, CONRAD, HERBLOCK, SZEP, PETERS, WASSERMAN, MARLETTE, MAULDIN, BORGMAN, SUMMERS, SACK, AND A DOZEN OTHER CARTOONISTS.

Just $36 for one year, 52 issues

Tabloid size • Reference Guide • No paid ads • No newsstand

FREE SAMPLE: Check out 3 weekly issues free. No obligation. No gimmicks.

Call Toll-Free: 1-800-338-9335 (Business Hours Central Time Zone)

Or write to: OPINION WEEK P.O. BOX 468 - , VINTON, IA 52349

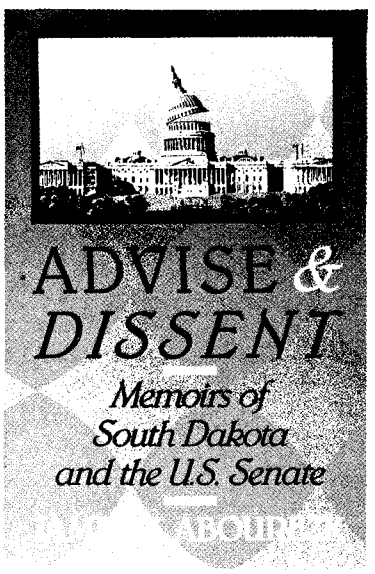
ADVISE AND DISSENT

MEMOIRS OF SOUTH DAKOTA AND THE U.S. SENATE

by James G. Abourezk

"You have never read—and are unlikely ever to read—political memoirs the likes of these."
— ***The Washington Post Book World***

"*Advise & Dissent* is an important book...It is an object lesson for politicians of both today and tomorrow, who believe—wrongly—that they must sell off their principles in order to be elected."
— ***Gore Vidal***



Published by Lawrence Hill Books

Price: $22.00 hardcover (includes postage & handling)

Credit Card Order:
202-244-2990

Mail Order: (Please make checks payable to ADC)
ADC • 4201 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Suite 500 • Washington, D.C. 20008

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO JEOPARDIZE A PERFECTLY GOOD FRIENDSHIP.

Give someone you care about a gift subscription to *The Nation*.

In all likelihood, the recipient will get just as enraged, worked up and aggravated about the issues the magazine covers as our regular subscribers do.

That's because *The Nation* covers those issues with a critical spirit and an independent perspective that set us apart from other publications. Which isn't surprising, since it's written by such original thinkers as Alexander Cockburn, Kirkpatrick Sale and Frances FitzGerald.

And politics isn't all we cover. Our subscribers also enjoy our writing on the arts, which is of such extraordinary clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should give *The Nation* as a gift after all.

Just be sure your relationship can stand it.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

YES! I THINK MY RELATIONSHIP CAN TAKE IT. Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first gift and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO (Please print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

GIFT FROM (Your name)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $_____for_____subscription(s).
☐ Bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add $7/24 issues.
Air Mail rates available upon request.
Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION OH 43305

LD0C2S-X

observer of the details of victimization, but only when the victimizers are revolutionaries. His casualty lists are intended to support his "demythologization" of the Revolution rather than to give a full account of history's callous evenhandedness: how we pay in blood when we tolerate tyranny, and how we pay in blood when we resist tyranny. Schama is less than evenhanded, however. As in Burke's account of the Revolution, there is ample detail concerning the unhappy fate of the King and Queen. Schama actually abjures glibness in his affecting portrait of the King *in extremis*: Here the condemned monarch is "responding with husbandly gallantry to the grotesque libels of the press" against Marie Antoinette, expressing "forgiveness to his enemies"; and here the pitiful family, right before the execution, is together for "an hour and three quarters . . . weeping, kissing and consoling each other as best they could, the little boy [the Prince] clinging to his father's knees." Nowhere in this 948-page book is there an analogous portrait of a starving peasant, an abused fishmonger, an imprisoned debtor, that rivals this poignant, some might say syrupy, passage. Indeed, Schama's chronicle style necessarily focuses on the story of kings and queens rather than on the life and death of lesser folk. In this sort of history, revolutionaries also die, but for the most part deservedly, and in a fashion Schama tends to mock rather than regret, to explain away rather than condemn. When a 12-year-old boy is gunned down by a royalist platoon at Grenoble, it is only because the regiment has been "goaded beyond endurance." No one, in Schama's account, is ever "goaded beyond endurance" by the Bourbons.

Tom Paine once objected that Burke's compassion for the Queen managed to pity "the plumage, but forget the dying bird." For Schama, however, the bird isn't dying, so there is presumably no reason not to fuss over plumage. Actually, Schama's insistence that all was well until the revolutionaries stumbled into history's modernizing way creates an embarrassment of the first magnitude for his general argument. If the bird of state was so game, why did it fall prey to revolutionaries? If the course of events from 1789 was countermodernizing, what was driving history forward?

There was of course the famine, bad weather and all, in the summer of 1788 and the winter of 1789; and then, despite all their confidence in modernizing ministers like Necker, the Bourbons had somehow managed to exhaust the French treasury and send the French debt spiraling upward quite out of control, creating horrendous cash-flow problems. But according to Schama, the "feudal" nobility of the *ancien régime* putatively "wallowed in plutocracy," while the old regime was itself actually full of "dynamism and energy." Indeed, "from the King downward, the elite were less obsessed with tradition than with novelty, and less preoccupied with feudalism than with science." Despite the pathetic reputation Louis XVI has been lumbered with by historical iconographers of the Revolution, who have unjustly focused on such impertinences as his supposed preference for the hunt above all things and his notorious journal entry on the day the Revolution began, which read, in its entirety, "Nothing," Schama is persuaded that Louis had displayed an "engaged and lively concern in much of his public business," taking particular interest in "a special school for blind children." And though Schama acknowledges the indictment leading to the King's trial and execution offered "a damning chronicle of subterfuge and bad faith" (which, one might have thought, was a goad beyond all endurance), and though only 361 of 721 voting deputies, one-half plus one, actually voted for the King's execution (suggesting it was an agonizing and controversial decision), it is explicable to Schama only as a manifestation of the Revolution's irrepressible taste for violence. Since there was no other good reason for the Revolution to have taken place, Schama's logic necessarily and conveniently concludes that violence *was* its essence—its meaning and its end.

Now, there is certainly an argument worthy of debate which suggests that certain kinds of violence and certain pathologies of modernity have a common genesis in the Enlightenment, and that this common birth has afflicted modern democracy with a special vulnerability to new forms of tyranny: the dictatorship of the majority and what some like to call totalitarianism, for example. From the time of Tocqueville, observers have noticed that under the rubric of enlightened despotism, the Age of Reason engendered a peculiar alliance between science and dictatorship and between rationality and persecution. In his defense of the Bourbons, Schama is presumably reminding us of just how enlightened the despotism occasionally could be.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unfortunately, this seems to blind him to how despotic the despotism regularly was, and so leaves him unable to explain why the Revolution occurred at all, other than as an aberration, a mistake, an attempt, as we have quoted him, "to *arrest*, rather than hasten, the process of modernization."

Some of this bias derives from the paramountcy of economic arguments in the revisionist position. Although Marxist analysis ultimately failed to win the debate about the Revolution, it did succeed in setting the terms; hence much of the controversy about the Revolution now turns on its socioeconomic successes or failures. Since recent research seems to demonstrate fairly conclusively that the Revolution did not do a great deal for capitalism and wreaked the greatest damage on new burgeoning port cities like Marseille, Bordeaux and Toulon, and on bustling manufacturing towns like Lyons and Nantes, the conclusion seems irresistible that, as class war, the Revolution failed. That is, if politics and political ideas are to count for nothing.

Yet the classic celebration of the French Revolution has been a celebration of political rather than class emancipation, and economic arguments are hardly at its core. The Bourbons may have been a modernizing force, but no one has yet claimed they were a democratizing force. The other side of Tocqueville's argument was that modernization entailed centralization, which in turn required that the Bourbons attack and annihilate whatever vestiges of local autonomy and regional democracy had survived the Middle Ages in a system of *parlements* and provincial government. What united the aristocracy and the emerging bourgeoisie at the outbreak of the Revolution was a common concern for liberty, if of their own distinct kinds. What animated the zeal of the more radical elements in the Revolution was a hatred of privilege, which quickly transformed the aristocracy from an ally into an enemy.

The Revolution, then, was first and foremost a political assault on privilege, as manifested both in the monarchy and in the aristocracy. Schama cites a number of examples of Bourbon hubris, but seems unaware how odious and, in time, how intolerable such behavior and rhetoric might seem to eighteenth-century merchants, farmers, guildsmen and shopkeepers (not to mention aristocrats and churchmen, whose own hubris was being encroached upon). Take this, a typical utterance of Louis XV circa 1766: "In my person alone resides the sovereign power, and it is from me alone that the courts [*parlements*] hold their existence and their authority. . . . The whole public order emanates from me since I am its supreme guardian. My people and my person are one and the same." Even if it could be shown that Louis was a monarch as enlightened and beneficent as Voltaire's favorite despot, Frederick the Great, it would not change the facts of his despotic politics, which assumed his rule originated in heredity, history and ultimately a divine mandate. The challenge of Shakespeare's Richard II is the one to which the revolutionaries rose: "The breath of worldly men," proclaimed Richard, "cannot depose/The deputy elected by the Lord." The revolutionary response came in the language of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen: "Men are born free and equal in their rights and social distinctions are founded wholly on convention and utility."

To Schama, we have seen, the Revolution was ultimately about violence. I would suggest that it was about the rights of kings versus the rights of citizens,

A Sample of our Spring Titles

Saturday Night in Baoding
A China Memoir by Richard Terrill

Winner of the 1988 AWP Award for Nonfiction

"Although writing before the events at Tiananmen Square, Terrill illumines the frustrations of the students that led to the revolt, but timeliness is only incidental here to a vivid picture of the lives of young Chinese intellectuals, and the honestly revealed plight of a lonely, questing young man with a well-stocked mind, a compassionate heart, and a bright pen."
—*The Kirkus Reviews*

$24.95 cloth, $14.95 paper

Nothing But the Night
A Novel by John Williams

"[John Williams'] first undertaking [originally published in 1948] is carried out with a success that compels admiration. . . . The atmosphere quivers as he discloses the weights of fear and the horror of spiritual isolation."
— *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

$12.95 paper

The Past, the Future, the Present
Poems Selected and New by Reed Whittemore

"Whittemore is an important poet. Often funny in their detail, in the brilliance and accuracy of their notation, taken as a whole [these poems] witness to an inwardness immensely sober and moving."
— Howard Nemerov

$29.95 cloth, $14.95 paper

Available at fine bookstores or direct from

ARKANSAS

The University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville 72701 1-800-525-1823

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about the source of political authority, about what constitutes legitimate government. Hence, when the famous question was posed at Versailles in 1789—whether the old estates should meet separately, according to ancient convention and natural hierarchy, or as one body, united as the incarnation of the French people—it was the *political* question that was being raised. And to this question there was only one answer—the one offered by Sieyès in his explosive tract *What Is the Third Estate?* The third estate, Sieyès asserted, is everything. It is freemen born free and equal, it is the people in common, the whole nation, the independent *patrie*. It is all the political authority there rightfully is, all there legitimately can be. The principle is among the first enunciated in the Declaration of Rights: "The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; no body, no individual, may exercise authority which does not emanate expressly from it." *This*, Mr. Schama, is the French Revolution. These words, enunciated first in America and in France, have been the battering rams of emancipation around the globe ever since. They are no less alive in Budapest and Berlin today than they were in Philadelphia and Paris then.

It will come as no surprise that a historian oblivious to politics and fixated on violence should provide almost no substantive discussion whatsoever either of the Declaration itself or of the deliberations that conceived it; or should fail completely to take the measure of how emancipatory the rhetoric of rights could become. Although Schama, like François Furet, emphasizes the significance of rhetoric and ideas, he is mostly silent about the ideals of the Revolution or the democratic aspirations of the rebels—except when he is pillorying hypocrisy along the lines of, And these murderers were supposed to be democrats! When he does confront the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen it is to decry its licentiousness. It brought forth, he concludes, "a political culture in which the liberation of disrespect knew no bounds . . . a polemical incontinence that washed over the whole country." What this makes the American Bill of Rights one can only guess (a linguistic bed-wetting that inundated an entire continent?). But then (thank heaven) America is not Schama's subject.

Schama's revolutionary subjects have ideas and beliefs, but the wrong ones. Where the "convictions that fired the [counterrevolutionary] rebellion" that took place in the Vendée are characterized by "depth and simplicity," the fiery convictions of the revolutionaries turn out to be so many shuddering echoes of Jean Jacques Rousseau's personal psychopathologies. Schama shares with writers like J.L. Talmon and Lester Crocker the happy belief that much of what was wrong with the Revolution intellectually was Rousseau's fault. The best way to arrive at this belief is to ignore most of what Rousseau actually wrote and take the word of those who claimed to act in his name. This was Heinrich Heine's tack when he called Robespierre "the hand, the bloody bloody hand of Rousseau."

Rousseau himself would have smiled and retreated into one of the reveries through which he escaped the stupidities of the race he eventually recognized had no desire to be instructed by him. Departing, he might have pointed out that by 1793 just about everyone in France was misusing his writings. It was hard to find a Jacobin, a Brissotin, an aristocrat, even a monarchist who had not asserted Rousseau's paternity for his own favorite schemes—revolutionary and counterrevolutionary alike. And he certainly would have cited the passage in his *Dialogues* where he had written, ever so clearly, that "the bad faith of men of letters and that silly vanity which forever persuades everyone that he is being thought of, caused great nations to apply to themselves what was meant for small republics; and, perversely, one wished to see a promoter of subversion and troubles in the man who is most prone to respect national laws and constitutions, and who has the strongest aversion for revolution." To be sure, Robespierre was as oblivious to these futile protestations as Schama, both preferring to honor their revolutionary inventions that turned the pursuit of virtue (which in Rousseau was an argument for moderation) into a license for every excess. Rousseau's actual historical pessimism and his deep distrust of large-scale states or revolutions is simply ignored. Demythologizer that Schama claims to be, he might have troubled himself to spend some time reading Rousseau with care and helping to rescue him from his rampaging fans rather than give currency to their convenient (for them) distortions. If ideas are to be treated as significant in historical debate, as Schama rightly insists they must be, surely they should be treated with as much fastidiousness and accuracy as historical facts. Rousseau's texts endure and can be read and reread. Schama hasn't, doesn't and apparently won't. He is content to assimilate them through the eyes of later users and abusers.

Yet for all these distortions, there is a piece of Rousseau's soul in the animus of the Revolution. In its fierce battle against privilege we can detect the fury of Rousseau's war for equality. The cry to men in 1789 was not simply "Feed us!" That could have been done by better economic managers. It was, "Empower us to feed ourselves! We are your equals! Give us control of government, of the powers that control the economy!" Rousseau's voice was Beaumarchais's; it was Figaro raging at the count he serves so well and by whom he is served so wretchedly: "Nobility, fortune, rank, position! How proud they make a man feel! What have you done to deserve such advantages? Put yourself to the trouble of being

COUNTDOWN

Child again for a few minutes
I follow my son tonight racing the shallows
where the great white heron comes to rest.
He has just begun to babble; he suspends it
for a race that monotonously fascinates,
the bird always ahead dipping a monstrous beak
to feed or not feed every few seconds
while the boy, his miniature legs torquing the wind,
closes the distance the bird allows him now and then
only to open it again by taking wing.
Because I could probably watch this forever
its whole duration comes down to these lines:
three shadows, one sometimes. Meanwhile, uninterrupted,
the sea and sand go on exchanging their fine losses.

Peter Cooley

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Writin' 'Bout a Revolution

Recent Books . . .

Olivier Bernier. *Words of Fire, Deeds of Blood: The Mob, the Monarchy, and the French Revolution* (Little, Brown. 384 pp. $21.95). A popular, readable, unsurprising new account intended for a popular audience.

Carol Blum. *Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution* (Cornell University Press. 302 pp. $29.95. Paper $11.95). An intellectual history of the influence of Rousseau's civic language on revolutionary rhetoric.

J.F. Bosher. *The French Revolution* (Norton. 353 pp. $9.95). A brash polemical revisionist account assailing "left-wing dogmatism."

George C. Comninel. *Rethinking the French Revolution: Marxism and the Revisionist Challenge* (Verso. 240 pp. $34.95). An intelligent book from the left that does exactly what the title says.

Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche (editors). *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800* (University of California Press. 366 pp. $50. Paper $24.95). A sourcebook on the culture of print and thus on freedom of the press during the Revolution, prepared in conjunction with the New York Library's remarkable exhibition. The volume is dazzlingly illustrated.

William Doyle. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford University Press. 450 pp. $29.95). A leading English revisionist in the school of Alfred Cobban. Doyle's approach is marked by clarity rather than polemic.

François Furet, *La Revolution 1780-1880* (Hachette). The best-selling account by France's leading revisionist historian, who has influenced a generation of Continental and American students of the Revolution.

François Furet and Mona Ozouf. *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Harvard University Press. 1,168 pp. $85). Translation of a massive, comprehensive anthology of articles by leading French revisionists that focuses on events and personalities rather than social forces.

Patrice Higonnet. *Sister Republics: The Origins of French and American Republicanism* (Harvard University Press. 336 pp. $27.50). A comparative examination of the two revolutions that is far more critical of the French than the American.

Peter Jones. *The Peasantry in the French Revolution* (Cambridge University Press. 324 pp. $44.50. Paper $14.95). The Revolution outside of Paris, including an account of the bloody counterrevolution in the Vendée.

Emmet Kennedy. *A Cultural History of the French Revolution* (Yale University Press. 448 pp. $35). A thorough account of revolutionary political culture that, in the revisionist fashion, shifts the focus from social and economic forces to art, image and idea.

Joan B. Landis. *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Cornell University Press. 276 pp. Paper $10.75). A feminist account of the impact of patriarchal political culture on women's rights before and during the Revolution.

Dorinda Outram. *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (Yale University Press. 234 pp. $25). An interdisciplinary account of images of the gendered body during the Revolution.

Mona Ozouf. *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Harvard University Press. 398 pp. $37.50). A study of revolutionary political culture, in the revisionist mode of François Furet and Keith Baker, focusing on Rousseauist forms of pageantry and civil religion.

George Rudé. *The French Revolution: Its Causes, Its History and Its Legacy After 200 Years* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 256 pp. $19.95). Perhaps the last of the heroic interpretations of the Revolution as social progress, but one responsive to the revisionist critique.

Simon Schama. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (Knopf. 948 pp. $29.95).

. . . and a Few Enduring Classics

Hannah Arendt. *On Revolution*. A classic postwar view of revolution in France and elsewhere as a forge of both democracy and totalitarianism by the author of *The Human Condition* and *Anti-Semitism*.

Crane Brinton. *The Anatomy of Revolution*. A comparative taxonomy of the phases of revolution in England, France, America and Russia first published in 1938 by Prentice-Hall.

Edmund Burke. *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. A contemporary and powerfully conservative critique of the first year of the Revolution written in 1790 by the great Whig parliamentarian.

Thomas Carlyle. *The French Revolution*. The great romantic/heroic history of the Revolution that first appeared in 1837.

Georges Lefebvre. *The French Revolution*. Perhaps the greatest of the twentieth-century leftist histories of the Revolution by a holder of the Sorbonne chair on revolutionary studies.

Thomas Paine. *The Rights of Man*. The radical American revolutionary's ardent response to Burke's attack on the French Revolution.

Jean Jacques Rousseau. *The Social Contract*. Perhaps the most influential for the revolutionaries of all Rousseau's works, it was published in numerous editions from 1789 on and carried into battle by the revolutionary armies.

E.J. Sieyès. *What Is the Third Estate?* Written in 1789, this pamphlet inspired the French revolutionaries; it is to the French what Lenin's *State and Revolution* is to the Russian Revolution.

J.L. Talmon. *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*. One of the first works to link revolutionary terror to modern totalitarianism, written after World War II by an Israeli political theorist.

Alexis de Tocqueville. *The Ancien Régime and the Revolution*. Although written in the middle of the nineteenth century, this was in a sense the first revisionist account of the background to the Revolution, arguing that the Bourbons had already set the course for centralization and modernization prior to the Revolution; by the aristocratic author of that other classic, *Democracy in America*.

Peter Weiss. *Persecution & Assassination of Jean-Paul Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton Under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade*. The 1960s celebration of lunacy, libertinism and revolution produced for the stage by the Royal Shakespeare Company.

—B.R.B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

born—nothing more!" Political equality, political representation and political rights—the rights not simply of men but of *citizens*—these were the common themes of the American and the French rebellions, the themes that made men like Paine and Jefferson and Lafayette patriots on both sides of the Atlantic. It was the radical and leveling ideal of government by consent that ultimately led to the overthrow of the monarchy; and it was the refusal of the King and his party to abjure the veto that made the King's survival improbable as well as intolerable. The Revolution was a rebuke to privilege, an assault on hierarchy, a cry for emancipation. The proscriptions against privilege written into the American Constitution had come relatively easily to Americans living in a land where class had never taken root, but in a nation as steeped in class as France they had to be secured by blood. Here, Robespierre was brutally correct when he demanded of his adversaries, "Do you want a revolution without a revolution?"

That would seem to be what Schama requires. He not only wants the Revolution to be over, he wants it to have been a revolution without a revolution. But it *was* a revolution, and a revolution, as the out-of-fashion Mao Zedong once said, is not a tea party. Nor is it over—not for historians and (same thing) not for ordinary men and women. For the historians it will be over when there is nothing more at stake in interpreting the French Revolution than some hypothetical academic standard of historical truth. That will only happen when the Revolution is over for the rest of us: when women are nowhere homeless, men nowhere persecuted, children all well educated, everyone enjoying equally the rights that we claim arise out of our common humanity. It is not just a matter of ideals. The strange, consoling notion that the Revolution is over collides frontally with reality, with the real world of today, in which revolutions in the name of liberty or justice or property, even revolutions in the name of capitalism and of shopping, are raging with little less fire than they raged in 1776 and 1789.

It is quite astonishing to watch those same conservative and revisionist critics who savage the French Revolution exalt over the revolutions in Budapest, Prague and East Berlin being carried on precisely in the name of its liberating ideals. To be sure, the French paid a terrible price to embroider the potent words "liberty, equality and fraternity" into history's fabric. Nor has the struggle for liberation been costless to those who followed the French. Even the students in Beijing killed some soldiers last June, burning and eviscerating a few before being massacred by the army, though revisionists here (with the exception of Henry Kissinger) seem to have taken little notice of *those* excesses.

Is it not, then, a little ungrateful, if not more than a little hypocritical, at a moment when we are bathed in ecstasy over the vitality of revolutionary democratic principles in the modern world, to be excoriating them in the nation that helped give them birth? And are we seriously to believe that the Revolution is really over in a world where democracy is so fragile, freedom still so precarious and the rights of men and women still more often the stuff of aspiration than of reality? Of course, ideas always take a generation or so to catch up with reality. One supposes that sometime in the first decade of the third millennium the revisionists will finally catch up with the revolutions of the late 1980s. And revisionism, revising itself, will finally take the full measure of what can perhaps still claim to be the most sublime event in human history. □

What's going on?

FILMS
LECTURES
WORKSHOPS
CONFERENCES

LOOK UNDER

EVENTS

IN THE CLASSIFIED SECTION

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENTS DESIRED

UNDERPAID, quiet and responsible interns seek low-rent apartment share, sublet or house-sitting arrangements anywhere in New York City starting right away. Call Peter Meyer at (212) 242-8400.

BED & BREAKFAST

LOS ANGELES near Hollywood. Garden setting. Close to tennis, golf. Residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (213) 664-4425.

CAMBRIDGE NEAR HARVARD. Homey, Victorian. Friendly scholarly ambiance. Safe, quiet, convenient, residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (617) 491-1306.

BOOKLETS

"THE JEWS AND OTHER PEOPLE—WITH COMPASSION & CONTRADICTIONS"—an 8-page essay (with 3 additional pages of comment), by Leon Goodman, F.S.P. member and former C.L.A.(O) member in September, 1928. Send $1 to cover postage and preparation to L. Goodman, 455 F.D.R. Drive, Apt. B-1604, New York, NY 10002.

BOOKS

JOIN THE BOOK CLUB devoted exclusively to the Adirondack Mountains. Enjoy convenience and savings. For catalog/invitation write: Adirondack Book Club, Dept. N, P.O. Box 830, Saranac Lake, NY 12983.

Mysteries By Mail

A catalog for mystery and espionage readers and their friends. Over 400 books, audio cassettes, videos, games, and gifts. Classics, best sellers, new voices, old friends. Send $2.00 for 40 page catalog. Mysteries By Mail, P.O. Box 679-M, Boonville, CA 95415.

© Copyright 1990, Mysteries By Mail

If this book received more attention, U.S. policies in the Middle East could be better balanced and more successful.
—Adlai Stevenson III

The most important book you'll read this year. —The Hartford Courant

This was a planned, calculated attack.
—Admiral Thomas Moorer, USN (Retired)

I believe it was a deliberate attack.
—Dean Rusk
Former Secretary of State

James M. Ennes Jr.'s award winning true story of the attack by Israeli forces on a U.S. Navy ship on the high seas. Thirty-four Americans killed, 171 wounded. Read how it happened, how the truth was covered up. Read why survivors and top U.S. officials insist it was no accident.

ISBN 0-394-50512-3 300pp. hard cover

For signed copy via 1st Class mail send $17

Terry's Book Barn
POB 789, Woodinville, WA 98072

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK available again! $22, postpaid. Complete edition. Barricade Books, Box 1401-R, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

BOOK SEARCH SERVICE

Wm CAXTON BOOK SEARCH, Box 709, Sister Bay, WI 54234. Send phone/address with wants. (414) 854-2955.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALL FOR PAPERS

CALL FOR PAPERS

IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR PHILIP SHELDON FONER

The International Labor History Association is pleased to announce a call for papers for the first *ILHA Yearbook*, a *Festschrift* honoring Professor Philip S. Foner on his 80th birthday.

Professor Foner has written and edited over 135 books in the fields of U.S. labor history, African-American (black) labor history, women's labor history, and anti-imperialist history.

Papers on these topics limited in length to 25 double-spaced pages may be submitted in English to Ronald C. Kent, editor ILHA, 706 Bruce Court, Madison, WI 53705, U.S.A., no later than August 15, 1990. Authors will be invited to present their papers at a conference to honor Professor Foner, December 14-15, 1990, at the Wisconsin State Historical Society in Madison.

CASSETTES

EDWARD SAID/MERON BENVENISTI. *Two Views of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. Tapes of this *Nation*/New School event are now available. Each 2-tape set is $20. Send check or money order payable to The Nation Institute to: "Two Views," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

"THE AGE OF REASON" and/or "Religious Sentiments of Thomas Paine" (from rare letters and articles). $30 for both, $18 each. 90 minutes. Thomas Paine Productions, P.O. Box 16145, San Francisco, CA 94116.

COMPUTERS

LONGTIME *NATION* EMPLOYEE, now computer consultant, is selling IBM-compatible computers and providing computer training and support to *Nation* readers in the New York City area. Special rates for nonprofit organizations and those on low incomes. Call Mark Rausher at Present Day Products (718) 934-2861.

COUNSELING

PERSONAL PROBLEMS? Caring, mature, experienced clinical psychotherapist will help resolve them. Short-term treatment where possible. Sliding scale. New York City. (212) 466-6775; Nassau (516) 484-1249.

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 20+ years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

EDUCATION

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

GLOBAL EDUCATION SUMMER 1990

Work With Central American refugees.
Sing Songs From Around The World.
Meet New People.

One, two or nine week courses at IICD combine international studies with outdoor activities.

Join us for a summer learning adventure.

For brochure and application:
IICD, Box 103-B,
Williamstown, MA 01267.
(413) 458-9828.

EDUCATION

INTENSIVE SPANISH IN GUATEMALA. Individualized instruction, family living. Casa, Box 11264, Milwaukee, WI 53211; (414) 372-5570.

SPANISH IN GUANAJUATO. Cultural Center of Mexico. Instituto Falcon, Mora 158. Guanajuato, Gto 36000 Mexico. Phone (473) 2-36-94.

HOME STUDY COURSE IN ECONOMICS. A 10-lesson study that will throw light on today's baffling problems. Tuition free—small charge for materials. Write Henry George Institute, 121 E. 30th Street, New York, NY 10016.

Speak French like a diplomat!

Comprehensive, self-instructional audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning; 56 languages in all. Call or write for free catalog. **1-800-243-1234**

AUDIO-FORUM® Dept. 616, 96 Broad St. Guilford, CT 06437

SPEAK SPANISH. Total immersion program. Established 1960. Four students per class. Cultural activities and family stay. Cuernavaca Language School, Apdo. 4-254, 62430 Cuernavaca, Mexico. Telephone (73) 15-46-43.

PENDLE HILL

A place to learn, live, and laugh together toward the renewal of self and society.

Adult study program welcoming all creeds. Short stays or resident terms. Private rooms, 23 wooded acres, Quaker directed. Write Box S2.

WALLINGFORD, PA 19086
(215) 566-4507

EVENTS

ARCHBISHOP ROMERO COMMEMORATION AND MARCH TO END THE U.S. WAR IN CENTRAL AMERICA

—End all U.S. aid to El Salvador—
—End the U.S. war against Nicaragua—
—No invasions—
—Cut military spending—
—Fund human needs—

SATURDAY, MARCH 24
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Assemble at 11 AM and march from U.S. Capitol to White House
Rally at White House
Nonviolent civil disobedience after rally

Marches in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Austin, Texas

Call (202) 265-0890, 328-4040, or 223-2328

IUP PROVOST'S MINI-SYMPOSIUM:
THE DAWNING OF A NEW ERA

Speakers:
Norman Hodges, Dennis Brutus, Georgina Ashworth, M. Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, Kevin Reilly.

APRIL 19—INDIANA, PA

For more information, call: Irwin Marcus, (412) 357-2237 or 2284.

EVENTS

RESTRUCTURING AMERICA

New Visions, New Choices, New Strategies for the '90s

A Conference in Memory of Robert Lekachman

With:
John Kenneth Galbraith, Robert Heilbroner, Richard Barnet, Robert Borosage, John Ullmann, Archie Singham, Eileen Applebaum, Walter Stafford, Julianne Malveaux, Helen Ginsburg, Gertrude Goldberg, S.M. Miller, Saskia Sassen, Paul Garver, Sumner Rosen.

MARCH 23, 7:00–9:30 PM
MARCH 24, 9:00 AM–5:00 PM

Graduate Center Auditorium
City University of New York, 33 W. 42nd Street

Contact:
New Initiatives for Full Employment
25 W. 43rd Street, Suite 620, New York, NY 10036
(212) 642-2981.

FILMS & VIDEOS

ARE YOU MEANT TO DISSENT? Rent important documentaries that help you to educate and agitate. Vital Video, 800-882-1999.

VIDEO: ZERO TOLERANCE—Attorney Tony Serra (inspiration for movie *True Believer*), exposes "War on Drugs" and proposes decriminalization. Proceeds benefit nonprofit alternative media. $25. PTTV, 2690 20th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

FINANCIAL PLANNING

BEAT THE DOW JONES! Discover sound stocks selling 40% below estimated value. What to buy, when to sell. For complimentary issue: *Solid Value Investment Letter*-R, Box 858, Vashon, WA 98070-0858.

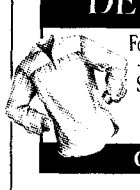
GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST Puzzles! Book 5 of these British-style crosswords, $5.50 postpaid. Write E.S. Lewis, 32 Pembroke Avenue, Acushnet MA 02743.

MERCHANDISE

REFUSED!!
RETURN TO SENDER
STAMP OUT UNWANTED JUNK MAIL
REDUCE OCEAN & LANDFILL DUMPING
$14.95
STAMP BOX 469
NORTH AMHERST, MA 01059
HIGH-QUALITY, SELF-INKING STAMP

DEVA Cotton Clothes



For men & women...tops, pants, jackets, nightwear —and much more. Hand crafted in 22 colors. Send $1 for catalogue & fabric samples.
DEVA, a cottage industry
Box NTA0, Burkittsville, MD 21718

Call 1-800-222-8024

MUSIC

MUSICIAN SEEKS FINANCIAL BACKERS for professional studio demo project. Intelligent, political, funky pop-rock music with industry interest. Invest in creativity. Serious inquiries only please. Nation Box 550.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS

A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $10 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER

links compatible singles concerned about peace, justice, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 555-A, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE®. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. 1-800-233-CMLS. Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured singles of all ages acquainted. Established 1970. Nationwide. Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039. (215) 358-5049.

COUNSELOR/MEDIATOR offers advice by mail. Helps resolve interracial, cross-cultural, financial conflicts. Sane, supportive, confidential. Brief response within ten days: $25. Longer advice: send $25 per page. WorldLoom Foundation, 411B-905 Corydon, Winnipeg, Canada R3M 3V3.

WIDOWER—seeking attractive woman, 60+, social, cultural. W. Bess, 2 Athenia Avenue, Clifton, NJ 07013, (201) 471-6027.

LITERATE LEFTIST MALE desires to meet tennis and/or squash-playing female, 25-45. Other interests include ballet (Balanchine), movies (Ford, Lubitsch) and baseball (the elegant geometry of the game itself). Nation Box 585.

STRIKINGLY ATTRACTIVE green-eyed brunette NYC attorney, 38, seeks handsome, tallish, nonascetic, well-educated, reasonably literate and sane professional man, 35-48. Note/phone/photo required. Nation Box 587.

PERSONALS

ATTRACTIVE, ACCOMPLISHED ex-Southern lady, college professor, 56, seeks spirited, adventurous New Yorker with sense of humor. Nation Box 588.

START "PENPAL CLUB" (Church, school, business, etc.) Instructions $5. Meditech, 3494 Washington, Cleveland, OH 44118.

If responding to a Nation Box number send replies to: Nation Box _____ The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

PROGRAM COORDINATOR: Work with U.S. groups to support MADRE's programs. Women of color encouraged. Send letter stating why you would like this job with résumé to: MADRE, 121 West 27th Street, Suite 301, New York, NY 10001.

VETERANS PEACE ACTION TEAMS

DIRECTOR/OPERATIONS, SAN FRANCISCO. Fundraising, program management, good writing ability, knowledge of computers. Spanish fluency preferred. $14,400-18,000.

DIRECTOR/OPERATIONS, NICARAGUA. Nicaraguan experience, Spanish, networking skills required. Organizational and construction skills sought. Airfare plus $275 per month, 1 year commitment.

Priority to veterans. Women and minorities encouraed to apply. Résumés to VPAT, P.O. Box 170670, San Francisco, CA 94117.

WORK IN NICARAGUA

APSNICA is seeking volunteers in all fields, skilled and unskilled, to work in Nicaragua. Architects, building tradespeople, computer personnel, engineers, mechanics, medical personnel, English teachers, planners and others are encouraged to contact us. Call: 213-455-1340; write: APSNICA, P.O. Box 1151, Topanga, CA 90290.

LABOR UNION REPRESENTATIVE. Opening for union representative to handle organizing and grievances. Requires evening and weekend fieldwork. Some experience preferred. Background in *political or community organizing and labor studies a plus.* Send résumé to: Marvin Moschel, Local 802, 330 West 42 Street, New York, NY 10036.

GOVERNMENT JOBS $16,040-$59,230/year. Now hiring. (805) 687-6000 Ext. R-3596 for current Federal list.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible jobs and internships. Subscribe to the only nationwide newspaper listing, covering lobbying, organizing, environment, disarmament and more. $12/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box NAT, 1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #600, Washington, DC 20009.

SUMMER STAFF, adult/young adult (16+) for progressive conference/vacation center. World Fellowship, Conway, NH 03818. (603) 356-5208.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. Grassroots International seeks dynamic Executive Director to lead progressive, activist development and information agency starting July 1. GRI provides material aid to democratic Third World social change movements. New director will guide expansion of education and advocacy work. Requires experience with Third World issues and foreign policy analysis, and track record with organization management, fundraising and PR. *Familiarity with U.S. social change movement a plus.* People of color strongly urged to apply. Nominations welcome. Send résumé, letter, references, writing sample and salary requirements to: Grassroots Search, P.O. Box 312, Cambridge, MA 02139.

POSITIONS DESIRED

INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE *NATION* INTERNS, experienced in research, fact-checking, writing and publishing, seek challenging work. Available starting immediately in New York, Toronto, Chicago and D.C. area. Call Peter Meyer at (212) 242-8400.

DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE of Western bank in Moscow seeks Los Angeles-based employment dealing with USSR, starting June. Contact Kathleen Louw, Moscow telex: 413904; Los Angeles: (213) 301-9426.

***NATION* AFTERNOON RECEPTIONIST** seeks morning work, 8 am to noon, as receptionist and/or at a job involving other office duties. Prefer downtown location. Call Vivette, 1 to 6 pm, (212) 242-8400.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER — a monthly newsletter on economics and politics worldwide. "A salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals." — Alexander Cockburn. One year $18. 3-issue trial $6. Left Business Observer *(Dept. N), 250 West 85th Street, New York, NY 10024.*

PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY! Reviews/details on 600 periodicals—peace, environment, labor, culture, international, organizing, etc. Networking, publicity, subscription information. $8. Box N-120574, Nashville, TN 37212.

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, "Promoting the Arts in Small Communities," $6. Special prices for bulk orders.

INDEXES OF THE NATION 1976 to 1980. All articles from this period are indexed by subject, author and title, with the book reviews and reviewers indexed separately. $6 per year, $8 for foreign delivery (price includes postage). Make checks payable to The Nation and send order to: The Nation Index, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. Back issues from 1976 to 1980 are also available.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates $1.50 per word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display $60 per column inch.

Deadline Wednesday, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

Discounts Pay for 3 runs, get 1 more free. Pay for 7 runs, 3 more free. Pay for 15 runs, 10 more free.

To THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ weeks, plus _____ weeks free.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment must accompany order. **Payment in U.S. currency.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

NICARAGUA'S VIEWPOINT:
Barricada Internacional,
biweekly news from Managua.
$35/year; $18/6 mo., sample free!
Barricada USA-N, P O Box 410150,
San Francisco, CA 94141

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Call (805) 687-6000 Ext. GH-3596 for current repo list.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL! INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF, CHALLENGE. Scholarly booklet—$5, Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064 (Details: SASE).

TRAVEL

FREIGHTER CRUISES—Deluxe, inexpensive. Reference booklet, $3. TravLtips Association, Box 218U7, Flushing, NY 11358; (800) 872-8584.

CARIBBEAN—$189. Round-trip air to sunny Caribbean from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cleveland. SUNHITCH™. (212) 864-2000.

Third World Reality Tours
Learn the issues firsthand. Meet with labor, religious, peace, and environmental organizers, gov. officials and scholars. Upcoming tours to Haiti & Dominican Republic, Appalachia, Brazil, Southern Africa & Central America. Contact:
Global Exchange 2141 Mission St., #202 San Francisco CA 94110

FLY CHEAP. Best airfares to U.K., Europe and South America. Save on transcontinental USA flights too. Free quotes. Call (800) 776-0379.

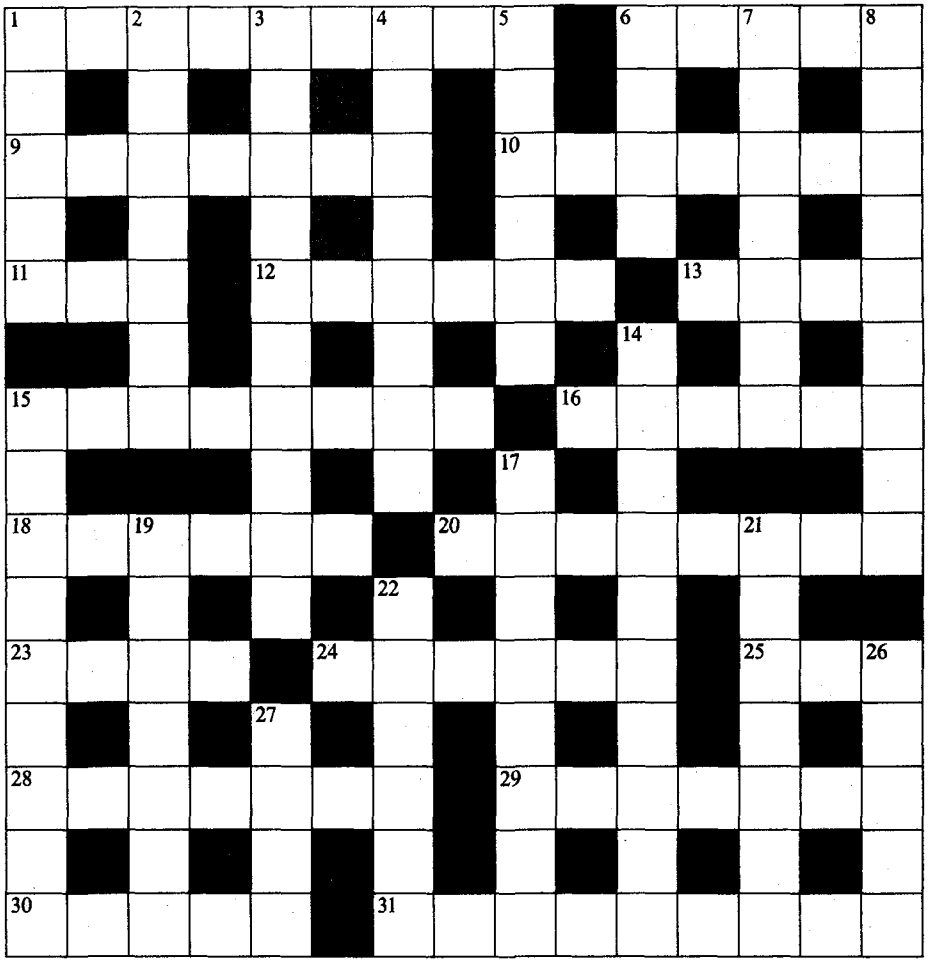
HOUSEBOAT ON SEINE—Bed/Breakfast, Central Paris. Romantic, reasonable! Reference/information: (317) 567-2478, weekends/evenings before 10 E.S.T.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2279

		F	A	L	L	I	N	G	D	O	W	N		
	J		C		A		U		O		A		D	
L	O	V	E		M	Y	D	O	G		F	A	R	M
	C		T		B		E		W		E		A	
P	O	L	Y	M	E	R		C	O	U	R	A	G	E
	S		L		N		W		O				O	
D	E	M	E	N	T	I	A		D	R	A	I	N	S
			N				T				N			
L	O	V	E	M	E		C	L	O	G	G	I	N	G
	B				X		H		V		E		O	
P	E	R	H	A	P	S		P	E	L	L	E	T	S
	R		U		L		A		R		F		B	
D	O	W	N		O	N	T	H	E		O	M	A	R
	N		C		I		T		A		O		D	
		W	H	I	T	S	U	N	T	I	D	E		

Crossword Puzzle No. 2280

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 6 Not worn to accompany those with 31-19. (Pop goes the weasel, when found?) (9,5)
9 Even after being this? (At least that's what things should be.) (7)
10 In very deep water, and considering it gospel, a GI can see it there. (7)
11 and 16 The final result makes one mad, and proves perilous. (9)
12 and 13 It doesn't show your heart beat, however—even though it might "rain" on your parade! (6,4)
15 A partial clue is indeed so misleading! (3-5)
16 See 11
18 Fool around like Nero? (6)
20 What he did sounds like 6 down to the Caribbean, making circle in the Big Apple. (8)
23 Was sorry to be so uncivil-sounding! (4)
24 One in Ivanhoe placed riches in the middle of it. (6)
25 and 27 down In an outstanding manner, but with no show of competence. (7)
28 Contains oats perhaps, but began so badly! (7)
29 It may be illegal if authority does, but parents may have the answer. (7)
30 Jaunty, perhaps, but wrongly says where the point is put in. (5)
31 and 19 down What ladies in waiting may don when they bring 1-6? (9,7)

DOWN

1 and 15 down Possibly made when the pipe goes around? (5,9)
2 Put your foot down with such, being what one does to paper when let loose around it. (7)
3 The correct part of the flag for one position in nine. (5,5)
4 Put into service, perhaps. (8)
5 What the little dog did at the rise of day, filled with pep, perhaps. (6)
6 Ales are brewed where you can buy something. (4)
7 Where embers might remain, but one says no thanks! (7)
8 One shouldn't fail to have them! (9)
14 One who impresses by forceful urging, being in the art council? (10)
15 See 1 down
17 Being in the saddest shape—and most remorseful. (8)
19 See 31 across
21 Be no good, as they write it, with a certain Baba coming from India. (7)
22 One place to look for honey with a Moslem lady, around the capital of Egypt. (3,3)
26 Very pleasantly esculent. (5)
27 See 25 across

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules," send for those of Mr. Lewis to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

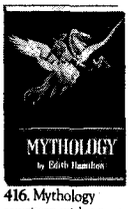
Quality Paperback Book Club Caters to All Sorts of Readers.

*482. This latest edition of the famous dictionary has 40,000 memorable quotations.
Hardcover: $45
QPB: $18.95

427. The Nobel laureate's latest fiction charts the course of a 50-year romantic triangle.
Hardcover: $18.95
QPB: $7.95

467. The critically acclaimed, best-selling history of the Civil War.
Hardcover: $35
QPB: $14.95

*330. An award-winning food writer offers more than 600 recipes for your microwave oven.
Hardcover: $19.95
QPB: $9.95

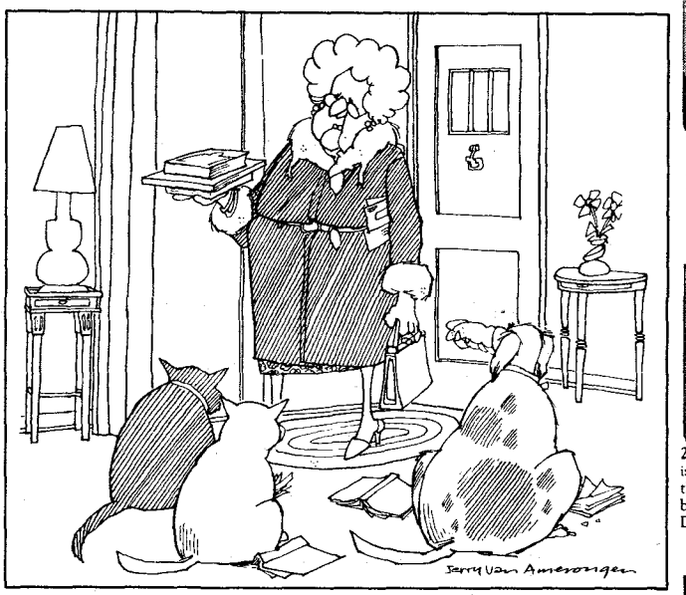


416. Mythology rewritten with a new understanding of the great legends.
Hardcover: $16.95
QPB: $8.95

211. Take a trip down Larson's memory lane with over 300 color and black-and-white cartoons.
QPB: $10.95

297. Soothing therapeutic techniques. 150 graphic photographs.
QPB: $9.50

*117. Over 1600 problem-solving drawings with explanations on every aspect of home repair.
Hardcover: $24.95
QPB: $12.95



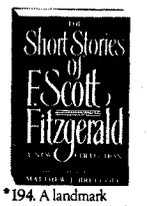
OK. Who ordered three books for three bucks and how do you intend to pay for them?

3 books, 3 bucks. No commitment. No kidding.

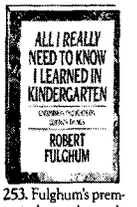
Whatever your reading taste, QPB has something for you. Just check out the selection on this page. Then choose any 3 books for $3, plus shipping and handling. After that, you're under no obligation to buy another book.

As a member, you'll receive the *QPB Review* 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). It lists the latest books we're offering; an unusual selection of softcover books—priced at up to 60% less than their hardcover counterparts. Another benefit of membership is our Bonus Point program: for every book you buy, after this special offer, you'll earn Bonus Points. These can be traded in for free books—you pay just shipping and handling. With all this in mind, don't you think QPB is the book club for you?

*447. A hilarious new collection from the author of *Lake Wobegon Days*.
Hardcover: $18.95
QPB: $9.50



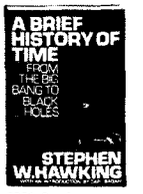
*194. A landmark omnibus collection of 43 of Fitzgerald's best short stories.
Hardcover: $29.95
QPB: $13.95



253. Fulghum's premise is that we learned the important lessons by age 5. "Play fair; Don't hit people; Flush . . ."
Hardcover: $15.95
QPB: $7.95

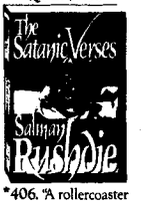
182. Moyers talks about everything from morality to science with notable individuals.
Hardcover: $29.95
QPB: $15.95

*256. What to write, how to write it, where to sell it.
Hardcover: $27.95
QPB: $13.75



*321. Stephen Hawking offers a convincing big picture of the origins of the cosmos.
Hardcover: $18.95
QPB: $9.50

601. The evolution of beliefs throughout history. Illustrated.
Hardcover: $29.95
QPB: $12.95



*406. "A rollercoaster ride over a vast landscape of the imagination"—*London Guardian*.
Hardcover: $19.95
QPB: $9.95

*QPB Exclusive: The only softcover edition now available.

OK. Send me my 3 books today. No commitment. No kidding.

Quality Paperback Book Club® P.O. Box 8804, Camp Hill, PA 17011-8804

Please enroll me in QPB and send me the 3 choices I've listed below, billing me only $1 each, plus shipping and handling charges. I understand that I am not required to buy another book. You will send me the *QPB Review* (if my account is in good standing) for at least six months. If I have not bought at least one book in any six-month period, you may cancel my membership.

0-16

[ ] [ ] [ ] *Indicate by number your 3 choices*

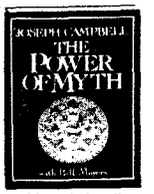
Name *(Please print clearly.)* QB128-3-1

Address Apt.

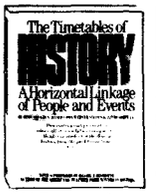
City State Zip

QPB® Quality Paperback Book Club

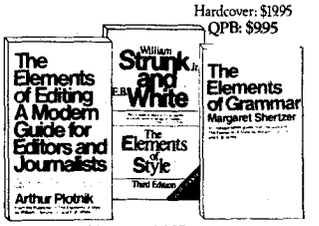
Prices are generally higher in Canada. © 1990 Quality Paperback Book Club. All orders subject to approval.



423. A scholar tells how myths have shaped our lives. A PBS TV series.
Hardcover: $27.50
QPB: $15.95



267. The story of civilization in a unique chart format.
Hardcover: $29.95
QPB: $15.95


The Elements of Editing A Modern Guide for Editors and Journalists
Arthur Plotnik
William Strunk, Jr. and E.B. White
The Elements of Style
Third Edition
The Elements of Grammar
Margaret Shertzer

109. A special QPB trio: *The Elements of Style, The Elements of Grammar, The Elements of Editing.*
3-volume set
QPB: $10.95

How QPB Membership Works.

Selection: Each *Review* lists a new Selection. If you want it, do nothing—it will be shipped automatically. If you want another book or no book at all, complete the Reply Form always enclosed and return it by the specified date. (A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.)

Return Privilege: If the *QPB Review* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit.

Cancellations: You may cancel membership at any time by notifying QPB. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED